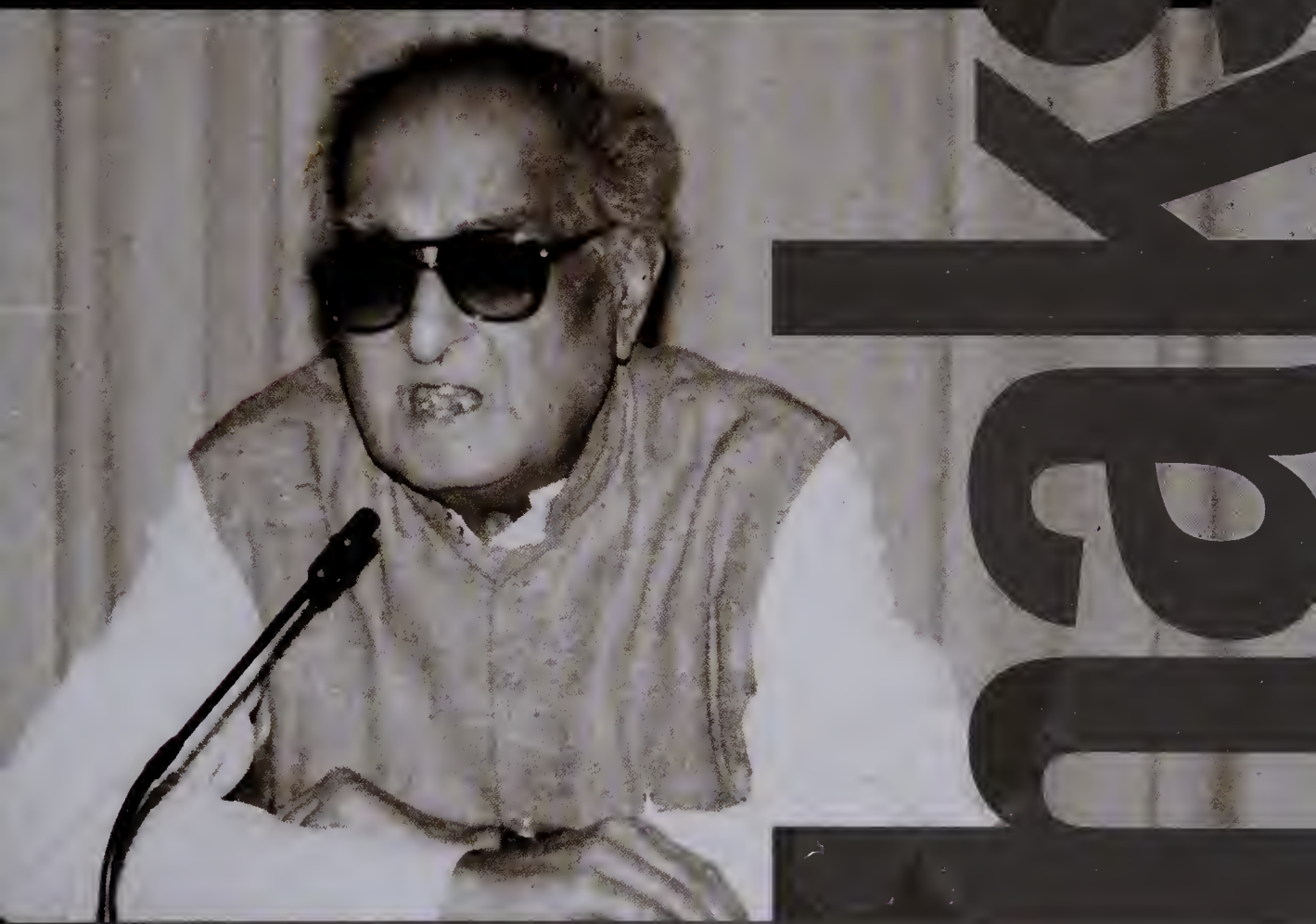


# Peace and Development

Baksar Memorial Volume IV



Edited by  
Subrata Banerjee

**'Peace and Development'** is the fourth in series of Haksar Memorial Volumes, planned by the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development (CRRID), Chandigarh, as its regular publication activity. The volume is based on the deliberations of a weeklong International Conference organized by CRRID, from 4-11 November 2006. It puts together a number of papers presented by eminent scholars, experts, diplomats, and administrators from India, Bangladesh, China, Georgia, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Russian Federation Slovakia, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Sudan and Vietnam.

The publication reflects different dimensions of Peace And Development in the contemporary world. It not only addresses threats to Peace And Development in an era of changing national interests and relationships among the countries, but also reflects over ways of consolidating all this through democratic governance, decentralization and other measures as a source of growth and stability.

This volume is a very veritable source of information for scholars, practitioners of development, diplomats and peace activists for a comprehensive and thorough global view of contemporary issues.



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# *Peace and Development*

## HAKSAR MEMORIAL VOLUME IV

Papers presented at the Fifth Haksar Memorial  
Seminar-cum-Lecture Series on Peace and Development  
organized by CRRID from 4-11 November 2006

Edited by  
**Subrata Banerjee**



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## *Preface*

*T*his volume is fourth in the series brought out in the revered memory of late Shri P.N. Haksar. It is an outcome of the weeklong Seminar-cum-Lectures organized by the CRRID from 7<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> November, 2006 on the theme of 'Peace and Development'. The conference was attended by a galaxy of intellectuals, policy makers and strategists across the globe. In addition to 68 participants from India, as many as 34 delegates from 21 countries, made their presence and impact felt. The salient message of the deliberations was that peace and development have a symbiotic affiliation. Conflicts between and within nations have a cascading effect on entire economy as well as ecology at large. By staunching the morale of a country, hurting harmony at the societal level, and de-energizing the individuals, these conflicts rubbish the scope for any development.

This volume gains immense significance and strength from the inclusion of a powerful contribution by Shri Inder Kumar Gujral, former Prime Minister of India and one of the leading intellectuals of the country. In his comprehensive and insightful paper, Gujral effectively touches upon the complex and sensitive realities of the world from grassroots level to the international.

One solemn feature of this volume may be underlined; its editing was taken upon by late Shri Subrata Banerjee, who was Mr. Haksar's comrade, great admirer and close associate for more than half-a-century. He had the distinction of editing the earlier three volumes, brought out again in the memory of late Shri P.N. Haksar. The present volume may perhaps be received with a profound feeling of nostalgia by all in reverence to Shri Subrata Banerjee who left for the heavenly abode on 24<sup>th</sup> October, 2007 at Washington DC. He was preparing for his journey back home to India. The destiny made him choose an unknown destination. He will be remembered in all fondness for his courage of conviction, competence, consistency, and above all, intellectual integrity and professional capability.

Shri Subrata Banerjee had made two promises, one to bring out a book on Punjab, which came out recently, and second to finish the editing of this volume. He fulfilled both the promises. The 'Introductory' chapter penned by him in this volume is a testimony to his profound scholarship

and sensitivity to issues pertinent to humankind at large. Though this volume is being brought out in the memory of late Shri P.N. Haksar yet it is dedicated to late Shri Subrata Banjeree.

The perfection and meticulousness with which late Subrata *da*, as affectionately addressed by us all, would have ensured the bringing out of this publication presented a challenge to Professor Gopal Krishan, who had the privilege of working closely with him. For the past some years, Professor Gopal Krishan has been ably editing International Quarterly '*Man and Development*' and has the distinction of editing a prestigious volume on '*Vitality of India*', besides other professional publications. He has worked hard with his small team, comprising Suman Khosla assisted by Vinati Bhargava Mittal, to give finishing touches to this publication.

In our irreparable loss of a mentor-cum-guide-cum-friend, the whole family of CRRID joins me in offering our reverential regards to Subrata *da*. He had the elegance of not only editing all the Haksar Memorial Volumes, but also structuring the publication programmes of CRRID in a highly professional manner. His vision and style will always propel us in excelling our efforts towards perfection in carrying forward the task of publication.

The volume assumes special significance for it is being released by a greatly adored former colleague and friend Shri M. Hamid Ansari, Hon'ble Vice-President of India. He is also delivering the Memorial Lecture in the memory of late Shri P.N. Haksar on November 30, 2007. The lecture is being followed by a two-day conference on '*Legacy of Nehru: The Making of India*'. Through the publication of the proceedings, there will be a lot more new to share with the global audience.

**Rashpal Malhotra**  
**Director-General, CRRID**

## *Introduction*

*T*his Centre was born of the consciousness of the need to go beyond collection and analysis of data of rural and industrial development as thrown up by field research. We felt that it was necessary to analyse and examine critically the entire complex processes of building a modern industrial society on the foundations of a backward colonial economy. It demanded looking into issues of social and cultural transformation and the development of a scientific temper. Our rich experience soon made us realize that domestic social tensions and conflict relations with neighbours hamper and even distort the processes of development. Financial and scientific and technological resources have to be diverted to the demands of domestic and national security. In an increasingly interdependent world wars beyond our borders and the consequent growing expenditure on weapons of mass destruction and associated research deprive us of adequate economic assistance. Thus, over the years our interests have expanded to cover a much wider canvas of what Shri P.N. Haksar defined as 'conditions of humanity' and the search for a 'plural humanist world'. This is how we are now involved in conflict resolutions and peace and development, by regularly providing space for exchange of experiences and ideas on co-operation among nations for peace and development.

This is the rationale for the international conferences that we have been holding for some time now. The source of inspiration has been Shri Haksar. The first such conference that he initiated was in January 1983. Understandably it addressed our immediate concerns. The theme was 'South Asia, Stability and Regional Co-operation'. As a first effort there was no attempt to involve foreign participation. The next one was more ambitious. The theme was 'Co-operative Development and Peace in Asia'. This was in March 1997. The Asian region was well represented and there were very fruitful discussions. This was the last conference held on the initiative of Shri P.N. Haksar, who passed away the following year. We have since decided to carry on this programme of domestic and international conferences annually as a continuation of the work he had started and in his memory.

The International Conference on Peace and Development, held on 7-14 November 2006 at our campus in Chandigarh, was really a very representative one. Senior academics and economic and political analysts



participated in the very lively and stimulating discussions. They came from Western Europe, countries of Eastern Europe and Georgia busy building capitalism, Israel, Communist China and Vietnam engaged in the challenging experiment of implementing Lenin's New Economic Policy in the current world situation, Japan, South Korea seeking new space for itself, and of course our neighbours Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Myanmar. The atmosphere of cordiality and warmth that prevailed, despite occasional sharp differences, left our friends from Western Europe agreeably surprised. There was a great deal of interaction at the individual level during the meal breaks. Personally I benefitted from them very much.

I have no intention of trying to summarize the deliberations of each of the sessions in a few sentences, as it would be an exercise in futility. I would rather try to put down my thoughts evoked by the deliberations at the Conference. It will naturally be a very personal response. I hope, however, that in the process I will be able to cover the major issues discussed. Eminent historian Eric Hobsbawm has characterized the twentieth century as 'The Age of Extremes'. It would appear that present is a continuation of the past, only some of the players have changed. Human history is the inspiring story of change towards a better world. Of course, the definition of this better world changes from time to time. Those very instruments of extremes are at the same time forces of revolutionary economic, political, social and cultural change. Dominance of finance capital, advances in science and technology, the revolution in information technology and the unchallenged economic and military strength of the USA, and the political influence born of it, constitute an element of the continuation of 'Extremes' in a more concentrated and centralized, and hence, a more aggressive form. In combination, these diverse developments have brought to the fore the question of human survival itself. At the same time, the very forces sustaining this element of 'Extremes' are creating conditions for the development of a very wide-based countervailing force, going well beyond the narrow interpretation of the Marxian concept of class, in search of a better world.

Every revolution in information technology has extended democracy and created conditions for social change. The IT revolution today has created an explosion in human consciousness, triggering an explosion in human aspirations, beyond the confines of the 'economic man', adding new dimensions to the very concept of development. Not merely agriculture and industry, education and health and employment and a higher standard of living, but a whole range of other issues, such as

environment, sex discrimination, human rights, ethnicity and cultural identity, has become components of development. The question of war and peace is very much a determinant factor for the realization of such human development. It is not just a question of the absence of war or of the threat of war making resources available for human development in all its dimensions. This brings us to the question of the need to understand the dimensions, causes and sources of war in the twenty-first century.

The basic character of capitalism in its early days was accumulation of capital for more investment, for more technological advance and more profits. Today, a major share of the capital accumulated through super-profits is used for personal consumption. Concentration and centralization of capital takes place through share market operations, which provide for easy, quick and maximization of profits. There is relatively less investment in new technology for new industries, except in a few war-related areas. Only increasing mass consumption can sustain such an economy. So we see the emergence of a debt-based consumer society, characterized by rapid obsolescence compelling the consumer to invest repeatedly in the same product, with minor improvements in efficiency. IT-driven advertising is replicating such consumer societies in every country of the world. This is an energy- and particularly fossil fuel-guzzling economy. Control of sources of petroleum is a cause of war today. According to the UNDP, between 1990 and 2002 there were 17 conflicts for the control of natural resources. That is the cause of the war in Iraq and the focus on Iran, with aggressive overtones, and the Middle East in general. Such wars are also testing grounds for new conventional weapons with greater lethal power and biological weapons.

The end of the Cold War with the disintegration of the socialist camp brought promise of a peace dividend, which would have released resources for development. This promise remains unfulfilled. Growing challenges to the unipolar concentration of economic and military power are triggering new conflict areas, such as the Asia-Pacific region with the fast emerging economy of China, a nuclear power. This is also true of the Euro-Asian region with another nuclear power, Russia, emerging as a global actor, based on its traditional military might and economic strength depending on the recent discovery of oil and gas reserves. The realization that a nuclear war cannot be won and hence cannot be fought will probably prevent another world war, which would mean the annihilation of humanity. At the same time, local wars seem to be on the increase, particularly because of the emerging assertion of ethnic identities, in which outside powers get involved, as in the dismemberment of Yugoslavia. The



problem of Kosovo is fast emerging as another flashpoint. Indo-Pak relations also fall in the same category. With so many tension areas and proliferation of nuclear weapons the possibility of an accidental release of a nuclear weapon cannot be ignored

The ethnic question adds a new dimension to the understanding of war and its causes. The assertion of ethnic identity in a multi-ethnic state can lead to armed conflict, which is nothing but a war between the state and the ethnic community concerned. This has found the sharpest expression in Sri Lanka. At a qualitatively lower level this is also true of India's North East. In Kashmir the long-neglected ethnic issue is now being articulated in religious terms, backed by an outside power. Violent assertion of ethnic identity is conveniently characterized as terrorism, as in the case of Palestine and Kashmir and North East India. The global war against terrorism, undertaken by the USA, has brought, what should really be called ethnic wars, under one umbrella. Very little distinction is being made between what is identified as Islamist terrorism and *jihād* and non-Islamic ethnic wars. In some cases, even the distinction between criticism of a government and violent action against it at home or in another country is being obliterated. Under the US anti-terrorist Act, Military Commission Act of 2006, 'the President is authorized to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed or aided the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001'. Under this Act, 'individuals subject to this order' can be anyone whose acts 'have as their aim to cause injury to or adverse effects on the United States, its citizens, national security, foreign policy or economy' (President G W Bush's Military Order of 13 November 2001, Section 2, quoted by Jean-Claude Paye in ' "Enemy Combatant" or Enemy of the Government?' in *Analytical Monthly Review*, Cornerstone Publications, India, September 2007. This suggests that if a foreigner, not resident in the USA, criticizes US foreign policy, he or she can be considered an 'enemy combatant'.

Some common elements between *jihād* and ethnic wars cannot possibly be ignored. Both are, in some respects, distorted expressions of ethnic identity and development aspirations. It is probably wrong to consider *jihād* an international phenomenon conveniently replacing the communist 'empire of evil'. The international communist movement, though tied together by a common ideology and directed or misdirected by an international centre, was basically an attempt by different nations fighting the common enemy, capitalism, in their own specific conditions.

The internationalism in practice really amounted to seeking strength in numbers. Each national Communist Party had to find its own way to socialism. The failure to do so and blind acceptance of the Soviet model have led to the ideological confusion that has gripped every Communist Party in the world today. This is probably also true of the pan-Islamism of jihad, which could really be an expression of country-specific developmental aspirations and in some cases combined with ethnic assertion. This is probably a possibility that might be worth investigating.

One expression of this war is suicide-bombing. Since 9/11 this has been characterized as a specific feature of what is defined as 'Islamic terrorism'. The suicide-bomber who assassinated Rajiv Gandhi was not a Muslim. This would seem to suggest that it might not be quite correct to associate suicide-bombing with religious fanaticism. It could be an expression of despair. Such an understanding does not necessarily mean condoning such action. On the contrary it amounts to barbarism as it kills and injures innocent people. The middle-class revolutionaries in India, described by the British rulers as 'terrorists', often committed suicide rather than surrender to the enemy. Unlike the suicide-bombers of today they never hurt innocent people. I can only quote Rabindranath Tagore to explain the motivations of such action. In 1931, he wrote in his poem, *The Question*:

Have I not witnessed secret violence  
strike at helpless innocence  
under the deceitful cover of night?  
Have I not seen the voice of justice choke  
in lonely silence  
before the aggression of the strong,  
unchecked?  
Have I not seen young enthusiasts  
maddened with rage,  
courting painful death,  
knocking their heads in vain  
against stone walls?

Did we not participate in mass demonstrations against British repression knowing fully well that we could face death? In some cases it might have been the mass frenzy of a moment, but for some of us it was a cool, calculated response of anger, born of a deep sense of humiliation. We were anything but fanatics. We were fighting for the freedom of our country. It is very difficult for those who have not gone through this experience to

understand this sentiment. It was the same spirit that motivated the people of Britain when they faced the daily air raids by the Nazi bombers. During those days, despite our hostility towards Britain, we felt one with the peoples' heroic resistance

In the same category of, what might possibly be called 'secondary wars', one could include the war that Maoists have launched against the Indian State. They have a clear strategy of attacking police stations to secure arms for guerrilla operations and building 'liberated areas'. Once again this does not mean one should condone their actions against innocent people. This brings us directly to the question of the relation between development and peace. Development, or the lack of it, is an essential component, among others, of every one of these secondary wars. The government's approach to this problem in every country is a combination of ruthless repression and measures of economic development. According to a senior police officer, who had been directly involved in 'anti-terrorist' operations in Punjab, it was a battle to win the confidence of the people that the police had the strength to better ensure their security than the terrorists. This was the process of isolating them from the masses. This is a simplistic approach. The Indian experience shows that it is virtually impossible to combine repression and development. A people, alienated from the state, for whatever reason and facing repression, can hardly be mobilized for participation in a development process. The very concept of development is often unrelated to the felt needs of the people. We are facing this problem in many parts of India, with its most violent expression in West Bengal. Violence is very much in the air today in India. Economic and social deprivation triggers mob violence at the slightest provocation. Interested political elements take advantage of such discontent and use them for communal riots and ethnic cleansing. The pogrom in Gujarat, after the Godhra incident and the continuing virtual economic sanctions against Muslims certainly constitute a state of war.

Every war today is a total war. It is no longer a war between soldiers. Even civilians are its target. It began towards the end of the First World War, with the introduction of aerial fighters and bombers. During the Second World War, it began with the Nazi blitz on London and reached its climax with the US explosion of the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This feature of modern war continued into the Cold War period, in the US 'carpet bombing' on Hanoi in Vietnam. It then spread to wars of subversion with the help of foreign finance, weapons and even mercenaries, as we witnessed in many parts of Africa. 'Collateral damage' is a



euphemistic explanation of the continuing total war in Iraq and Afghanistan. Even *jihad* and Maoist wars have become total wars as they attack innocent people. A total war destroys the economy of a country. It is true of secondary wars as well. War is an enemy of development.

Development is a continuing process bringing about social and cultural change. At the early stages it generates a discontent born of the loss of the old, established social norms, despite elements of exploitation, without its replacement by a new one. We are witnessing an expression of such discontent in West Bengal. The need, therefore, is to enable the people, especially the deprived sections, to articulate their felt needs and participate in the activities for their realization. They must be made to realize that they can build their own destiny. In an interdependent world, development in individual, especially the so-called third world countries cannot possibly take place without economic relations with other and more developed countries. In a world so unequally divided, it is impossible for an economically weaker country to protect its national interests in unilateral negotiations with an economically stronger country. Multilateral negotiations are more advantageous, with the weaker countries being able to join hands in putting across common interests. Pluralist negotiations are possibly most advantageous for developing countries. This would necessitate economic and technological co-operation among countries of a region. Such ties would help reduce tensions and ensure peace, which, in turn, would give a new impetus to development in the entire region. Negotiations between regions could be mutually advantageous and help democratize decision-making in international economic forums. Such a development will help create a multipolar world. Given the international correlation of forces today, regional co-operation can cut across the north-south divide of the days of the Cold War. The struggle for a multipolar world can create different combinations on different issues.

This raises the question of the status of nationalism and the nation-state under conditions of globalization. Some economists and political scientists believe that total economic integration of all the nations of the world, under globalization, would put an end to nation-states. This would end all wars. Let us not forget that nation-states were born in the nineteenth century through a whole series of wars. During the twentieth century too new nation-states were born generally through wars of liberation. Even in India, despite Gandhiji's non-violent struggle, there was a parallel revolutionary stream. The nation-state first emerged as a political entity. Development ensured consolidation of the political entity and the emergence of the state as a representative of the nation as a whole, with all

its contradictions and their resolution. Today, the nation-state is going through a process of transformation. In trying to protect national interests against the threat of homogenization of economic, political and cultural interests, under globalization, it is becoming necessary to relax some of its sovereignty to find strength in a regional combination. At the same time the developing states are still in the process of transforming the political entity into an integrated nation-state. Such regional combinations in co-operation with one another can possibly provide a countervailing force against attempts to build a unipolar world and possibly prevent military aggression against individual nations and a war between groups of nations. This would not, however, end internal wars. This would demand that every nation-state must make conscious efforts to realize the unprecedented possibilities of development, opened up by the scientific and technological revolution and the IT revolution, to raise the quality of life of the entire population in all its dimensions.

Rabindranath Tagore believed that not the uniformity of cosmopolitanism, but the plurality of internationalism would bring to an end the nation-state, which is the 'organized self-interest of the whole people where it is least human and least spiritual'. War can ultimately end with the elimination of the system of nation-states and set in motion the era of human development. It would be wrong to think that a world without borders would also put an end to the rich cultural diversity of humanity. One can visualize a great deal of cultural interaction without losing the rich diversity. In his last years, Shri P N Haksar spoke and wrote about his dream of a plural humanist world. The old parameters of thinking and terms of discourse, evolved over the last two centuries, are no longer valid if humanity has to survive in a world threatened by wars and nuclear annihilation. In this context, the Delhi Declaration signed by Rajiv Gandhi and Mikhail Gorbachev in November 1986 continues to be very much valid even today. It says:

'In the nuclear age humanity must evolve a new political thinking, a new concept of the world that would provide credible guarantees for humanity's survival...It is necessary to change the existing world situation and to build a nuclear weapon-free world, free of violence and hatred, fear and suspicion...Building a nuclear-free and non-violent world requires a revolutionary transformation of outlook and the education of people and nations for peace, mutual respect and tolerance'.

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**SECTION I**  
*Threats to Peace and Development:  
International Scenario*



# 1

## *Peace and Development\**

*I.K. Gujral*

*I* am thankful to you for inviting me to participate in this seminar to discuss 'Peace and Development'. Let me first say, I am familiar with this important academic and research centre in the north of the country. I had the privilege of visiting and interacting with the scholars here on two occasions.

In the deliberations this week, you propose to focus on the two pertinent issues of our contemporary life 'Peace and Development'. I go with the planners of the Conference to say that these discussions may be helpful in assisting the policy makers and the intellectuals if we are able to provide some fresh ideas on these issues.

I wish to take this opportunity to offer my homage to the memory of P N Haksar whose contributions in nation building are widely recognized. This institution in itself is a testimony to it.

\*Inaugural Address at the International Conference



Mr Chairman, Worthy friends, permit me to share with you both aspects of the subject that were so dear to P N Haksar in their wider applicabilities.

May I take notice of the fact that Prof. (Dr.) Manmohan Singh was elected Chairman of this Centre, enjoying unmatched reputation of a scholar and thinker. As the Prime Minister of India, he is putting in gigantic efforts to sustain the momentum of economic transformation of the country.

My mind also warms up to note that the current Chairman of the Centre is Mr Keshub Mahindra. His guidance and experience would go a long way to strengthen this institution.

Worthy Participants, as you know, the subject of 'Peace and Development' has its long historical perspective. For centuries, Asia was the centre of the economic universe. Statisticians estimate that in the two thousand years till the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, India and China together accounted for some eighty per cent of the total economic output of the planet. The colonial era led to their eclipse by the Western European powers, riding on the crest of sweeping industrial and technological revolution, and both fell into long decline and decadence thereafter.

But history's pendulum is now beginning to swing again as Asia led by China and India start to recover their glory. Witnessing, and in a small manner contributing to India's take off has been a unique and exhilarating experience for me. It is true that large parts of India continue to witness darkness, ignorance and hunger. Then there are the paradoxes. We have one of the highest growth rates in the world together with one of the higher incidences of poverty and child malnutrition. We are happy to see that the urban middle classes are full of hope and enthusiasm. At the same time in our rural areas helplessness, even suicides, have not yet been checked. While our cities are witnessing the mushrooming of malls, multiplexes and six lane highways, large chunks of the interior remain under the control of Naxalites and the outlaws of various pigmentations.

Jane Robinson, the famous Cambridge economist had said, some fifty years ago, that whatever statement one made of India, the opposite would also be equally true. Her words read as true today, as they were when they were written. But I do think that a fundamental transition has been achieved by now. India's population, all 1.1 billion of them, long seen as a burden and as insurmountable roadblock on the highway to progress, is now regarded as the nation's most precious asset. It is part of India's magic that what often seems to be her handicap, turns out to be an advantage. So has it proven in the case of India's population. Job opportunities are

multiplying and skill-scarcities are emerging in virtually all sectors of the economy. Indeed, we see many Indians returning from promised lands abroad to better options at home. In the city of Bangalore for example, it is commonplace to come across young Punjabis speaking with a Yorkshire accent. These are the children of the Punjabis who migrated to England a generation earlier. Today, Bangalore is one of the new horizons of economic opportunity and I am glad to say Punjabis have naturally made it their business to be there and to contribute.

Any process of modernization faces a fundamental question — how does one transform a rigid, hierarchical feudal society into a middle class community of technocrats and professionals? For ultimately, it is this invisible, unseen army of technocrats and professionals that establish the foundation of a flourishing civilization. Methods may have differed among imperial Britain, revolutionary Russia and Mao's China, but in the substance the answer was always the same: education and mass empowerment.

What distinguishes India's path was, I think, the humanity of the approach. Jawaharlal Nehru was not an economist but his understanding of developmental issues was no less profound for this. Panditji's philosophy for the development of the sensitive tribal areas in India's North-East is still recalled with affection and may be read on the website of the Government of Arunachal Pradesh. The five principles he enunciated were:

- People should develop along the lines of their genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage, in every way, their own tribal rights and culture.
- Tribal rights on land and forest should be respected.
- We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside the state will no doubt be needed especially in the beginning but we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into the tribal territory.
- We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with multiplicity of schemes; we should rather work through and not as rivals to their own social and cultural institutions.
- We should judge not by statistics or the amount of money spent but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

This last point bears emphasis. The 'quality of human character' was central in Jawaharlal's dreams. For ultimately civilizations are built by

citizens and not by slaves. That is why India today has achieved what very few others in the developing world have done, which is to build world class, competitive organizations that can compete on equal terms with the biggest and best multinationals in the world. We have unique to India an economy of companies, institutions and individuals that are a brand and a role model in themselves. The success of Indians in the software, steel and medical and pharmaceutical industries, not to mention the field of art, literature and culture, are well known and I need not repeat them here. But there is a broader moral in the story.

Very often, politics and policy making gets caught up in day-to-day compulsions. But policy making is done best when it is focused on doing right, instead of doing what is expedient. When Panditji spoke of human development and his five principles he did not know that fifty years down the road India would have an IT industry and that software would become to India what automobiles are to Japan or oil is to Saudi Arabia. He focused on doing the right thing for the country, rather than taking some measure for winning the next election. We must remain eternally grateful to him for this legacy. And we must also ask, whether the present day electoral system, with its bias for quick fixes, would allow another Jawaharlal to emerge.

Worthy friends, there is increasing tendency in the world today to view security issues entirely in military terms and seek military answers to all human conflicts. No part of the world is exempt from this folly but it seems particularly prevalent here in South Asia. Such a view is tragically wrong because any elementary survey would show that the dynamic of commerce and culture has had a much greater impact than military force. Indeed, the most bitter division in human history was decided without a shot being fired. The Cold War, which saw the mightiest armies in human history arrayed against each other, ended 'not with a bang but a whimper'. The Berlin Wall was brought down not by tanks and soldiers but the invisible pull of commerce and culture. Conversely we now see the examples of Iraq and Afghanistan, where conventional armies have failed to defeat what are essentially tribal militias.

It is not as if these forces of commerce and culture are unique to the 20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> century. Throughout history, in the struggle between the sword and the pen, the sword has come out second best. Look back in our own history; the most seminal battle was fought in Plassey, where defeat led to colonial subjugation. But who was fighting in the fields of Plassey? Was it just Indians confronting the British? Was it not also a decrying feudal culture



confronting a nascent democracy? A proprietorship against the modern corporation, decadence against modernity? The Flag follows Trade, the British said to describe the spread of their influence. And so it was for the rising powers. But they were not unique, the British, the Dutch and all the others were only retracing the footsteps of the Arab traders who nine centuries earlier had sailed to India and Indonesia, under a different flag, the herald of Islam.

If one is strong internally, no outsider can really challenge us. Throughout history, the outsider — be he soldier or terrorist, mercenary or missionary — has appeared more as a symbol of defeat, a mirror of one's internal weakness or vulnerability rather than its cause. The legendary British historian, Arnold Toynbee, after a lifetime of study concluded that 'nations die of suicide, nor of murder'. Indeed, the Persians have a proverb that says, what enemy contrives as bad for you may eventually prove good for you. The more relevant question always is : how does one save human society from itself? And it is always better and more productive to focus on rectifying internal faults than living in dread of external enemies.

A similar logic holds in the field of development economics. No great society has ever been constrained by a scarcity of material resources. Some of the richest countries in the world today — Japan, Switzerland, Sweden to name but a few — are bereft of natural resources but enjoy one of the highest living standards in the world. At the other end we have Russia, which by any measure of natural wealth or resources has everything from oil to gold, petroleum to ferrous and non-ferrous metals, but all its wealth has not brought Russia, despite centuries of striving, anywhere closer to fulfilling its dream of catching up with the West.

Those who have harnessed the power of human creativity and mastered technology have always set the rules for the rest of the world to live by. Commodity producers can merely survive at the mercy of technology, for technology can make or unmake any commodity, while the reverse has never proven true. This is an iron law of economic history.

This human spirit, once discovered, is boundless. We all know how much Delhi's commercial success owes to migrants from West Punjab who arrived here with little more than the clothes upon their back. There are any number of academic studies conducted in the US and elsewhere showing migrant communities surpassing native ones because of the greater reserves of inner strength they are forced to rely upon. As a refugee myself who achieved a measure of success, may I say with all humility and conviction that man is never shackled by his objective circumstance, only by his mindset.

Freedom, equality and social solidarity. Throughout human history these are the values that have brought peace and prosperity and, where lost, have driven the nation into darkness and ignorance, poverty and disease. It is every citizen's responsibility to ensure that the values and ethics that nourish a society's freedom and democracy are sustained. Casteism and discrimination in any form militate against the nation's interest. And it is absolutely necessary to maintain a culture of public service, where all citizens, politicians, civil servants, teachers, businessmen and managers commit themselves to serving the public good as their first duty.

Everyone knows what has to be done for the settlement of India — better infrastructure, education and health care and in larger quantity. The Government has the resources but is yet unable to deliver because the administrative machinery itself has become dysfunctional. Everyone from the Minister down is focused on his perks, his privileges and his survival, rather than the public good. Without a culture of civic duty, a Christian culture of public service, no democracy can flourish and we may end up one day like passengers on a burning plane, where each individual is so focused on saving himself that no one thinks of saving the plane.

Learned friends, a little earlier, I had spoken of the Berlin wall and the lessons one may derive from its fall. Indeed, if one compares the history of India and Germany, there are some very remarkable parallels. Both countries had a strong sense of cultural and linguistic identity, which could not however be transformed into political unity. Both assumed their modern form in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as an outcome of decisions made by foreigners. Both are federal democracies today. Both were partitioned. In Germany of course, that half which claimed ideological superiority collapsed, and the question arises — will not a similar dynamic unfold here in the Indian subcontinent as well?

I must leave a full answer to this question for another occasion. History seldom repeats itself exactly, but the dialectic of history is also unavoidable. No society or nation that entraps itself in a siege mentality can ever hope to prosper, or survive with dignity. To my friends across the border, I will only say — open yourself to trade, investment and normal relations with India. You will certainly not find us wanting in our response. Let us redefine Wagah. South Asia needs more connectivity, less barriers and certainly no 'Check-point Charlies'.

As I had enunciated in the Gujral Doctrine a decade ago, the opening of borders will benefit all parties. India will benefit, no doubt, particularly the border states and Punjab. But all of Pakistan will gain. The

Indian economy is ten times that of Pakistan and growing more than twice as fast. When countries around the world are seeking mutual benefit in trade, travel and investment with India; when Malaysia and Singapore and all of South-East Asia is doing so; when Germany and Great Britain and all of Europe is doing so; when Saudi Arabia and the Gulf is doing so, why then is Pakistan shying away? .

Ladies, Scholarly friends, the goal of banishing poverty and hunger from the world is not beyond reach and has been given new hope by the work of Dr Muhammad Yunus and the Grameen Bank of Bangladesh. They have done South Asia proud by winning the Nobel Peace Prize this year. Dr Yunus is indeed true revolutionary who turns conventional wisdom upside down and shows that it works. There is an orthodoxy that preaches that women are a largely useless appendage of man, and the weak and the poor an unnecessary burden. Dr Yunus has shown that those on the margins can be most potent resource and the key to a society's future. As the Nobel Prize citation says:

‘Every single individual on earth has both the potential and right to live a decent life. Across culture and civilizations. Yunus and Grameen Bank have shown that even poorest of the poor can work to bring about their own development.... Micro credit has proven to be important liberating force in societies, where women in particular have to struggle against repressive social and economic conditions. Economic growth and political democracy cannot achieve their full potential unless the female half of humanity participates on an equal footing with the male’.

My heartfelt congratulations to both Dr Yunus and the Grameen Bank. Here I must also add that the treatment of its womenfolk is a black mark on the otherwise good name of Punjab. While we have made so much progress in other areas, the growing incidence of female foeticide and social ills such as dowry reflect badly on us, and these evils must be eradicated.

Worthy friends, Asia and the world are experiencing unprecedented prosperity today. The impetus provided by India and China has benefited global corporations and multinationals as also commodity producers in the Middle-East, Africa and Latin America. All told the global economy is growing at an average annual rate of 3.2 per cent per annum since the year 2000. Thus, on present trends the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century may witness the most rapid increase in per capita incomes ever recorded.



But globalization has been a very mixed blessing. As I have said, in India, the urban areas are booming as multinational and domestic companies struggle to supply growing world demand for Indian goods and services. With so many new opportunities, starting salaries offered to fresh graduates in our premier institutes has increased, as per media reports, to nearly Rupees four lakhs per month. But the same world economy has depressed rural regions by keeping markets for agricultural commodities oversupplied and farm prices low. Hence, the phenomenon of urban boom together with rural gloom.

This phenomenon calls for the redirecting of development priorities, away from the urban areas, which are now quite capable of fending for themselves and focusing efforts on improving infrastructure and living standards in the rural areas.

At the international level, there are many other pressing problems. The crisis of global warming and climate change poses a threat to the very existence of the planet, in much the same way nuclear weapons do. But while the world is being galvanized into a virtual crusade against proliferation, no one is willing to make the smallest sacrifice to reduce the burning of fossil fuels, which is poisoning the atmosphere equally surely. The world's over reliance on fossil fuels also perpetuates intolerant and autocratic regimes that breed terrorism and keep the Middle-East a hot bed of great power intrigue. Oil has rightly been called the 'Devil's Curse'. Better alternatives are known to exist and need to be brought to the market.

There is the new problem of global aging, which threatens the world economy with slow-down and stagnation unless greater economic integration between the developed and the developing world takes place. The perennial problem of terrorism emanating from failed or failing states has still to be effectively tackled.

All these problems are open to solution. The tragedy is that at a time when the world needs to come together, it is slowly coming apart. A world hungry for leadership finds that there is none. The credibility of the United Nations and the major powers is today at all-time low. In five short years the world has descended from global security to global insecurity and the blame for this must rest squarely on the tragic war in Iraq.

Independent researchers estimate the civilian death toll in Iraq to be in the vicinity of six lakh people. If this figure is substantially true, it would confirm the Iraq War to be one of the most savage and senseless wars of modern times. No one is quite sure why it was fought and when it will all



end. The daily massacres make Saddam Hussain's crimes, terrible as they were, seem a trifle in comparison.

As the daily violence escalates what was left of Iraq's middle class is fleeing the country as fast as it can. Far from becoming a beacon of hope and democracy that the propaganda claims, it seems Iraq's destiny is as an empty and burnt out wasteland, a dark and unfilled wound, a permanent blot on the conscience of America and the world that looked on as it was dragged into purgatory, and then looked away.

Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am not a religious person but I do believe there is a divine justice that reserves its worst retribution for those who wage war on the weak and defenceless. This Iraq War, conceived in hatred and delivered in falsehood, will have far reaching consequences. Slowly but surely the western domination that began over three centuries ago is set to unwind. A new global security order is inevitable because the old order is dead and India must prepare itself for greater involvement in world affairs.

As I said, I am not a religious person but I do believe in the word of the Gurus who taught us that the sword may be raised in defence of the weak and the vulnerable, but never against them. For if there is a God and perhaps there is a God, He surely resides in the heart of the meek and the marginalized and any society that gives them dignity and the means to flourish, that society too will prosper and reach unseen heights. And so the world that once belonged to the inheritors of Lincoln must one day pass on to the children of Gandhi. Let us remain true to his ideals and steadfast in our path.

In conclusion, I once again offer my homage to the memory of P.N. Haksar.

Thank you.

# 2

## *Problems of Peace and Development Today: The Perspective of P. N. Haksar*

*Suhas Chakravarty*

I consider it a matter of privilege to participate in this seminar in the memory of late P. N. Haksar. A seasoned diplomat, a perspicacious national planner, a humanist endowed with an extraordinary scientific temper, an acute observer of and participant in the process of development of independent India, Haksar was a profound thinker. An active member of Krishna Menon's 'Kindergarten' in India League during his London days, young Haksar had worked with men like Mohan Kumaramangalam, Rajni Patel, Jyoti Basu, Michael Foot, R. Palme Dutt, Harry Pollitt, J.F.F. Platts-Mills, Ben Bradley, James Klugmann and many others. His Marxist training did not indicate a dogmatic adherence to a fixed ideological parameter. For him Marxism offered an optimistic world-view and an analytical frame. Haksar grafted on to it the essentials of Jawaharlal Nehru's creative nationalism and his perception of India as an essential part

of the process of a world movement towards the expansion of human freedom. Over the years, the journal, '*Man and Development*' was nurtured by Haksar with the zeal of a crusader and he embellished its numbers with his reflections, prognostications, premonitions, insights, analyses and assessments. His was an uncommon mélange of experience, erudition and attitudes. Thanks to the conscientious endeavour of Subrata Banerjee, the rational, pluralist and humanist Haksar has been encapsulated in two sumptuous volumes sponsored by the indefatigable Rashpal Malhotra and the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development.

Over the years Haksar's study chamber amidst an overflowing library had become a secular seminary where diplomats, administrators, journalists, advocates, litterateurs, academics, social activists, poets, artists, musicians, dramatists, some young students and a few dazed outlookers found their way participating in a sort of ongoing colloquium dwelling on the paths of human development and Indian realities in their manifold facets. Haksar was steeped in a sense of history that helped him grasp the essentials and distinguish them from non-essentials, and place them in the context of India's development. He was convinced that no cause could triumph unless there were 'faithful Agents' to carry it through. Infact, Haksar's life-long quest was to fashion a viable comprehensive view of the inter-relationships between politics, economics, social structures, scientific outlook, cultural patterns and value system. Without such a concerted endeavour, Haksar was certain, 'we can have no future of which we could be proud.' In one of his lectures in JNU he quoted a sensitive excerpt from C.P. Snow: 'Each of us is solitary; each of us dies alone: all right, that is fate against which we cannot struggle, but there is plenty in our condition which is not our fate, against which we are less than human unless we do struggle'.

Haksar's seminary in his study was vibrant with ideas and he was optimistic that ideas, based on the requirements of life and time, must move the world. Natural sciences, stages of human history, various social formations, distribution of the surplus, obligations of the scientists and intelligentsia to the society, the question of war and peace or of global negotiations or of the transfer of technology or investment of foreign capital, the uses of space science and technology, social planning, ecology, habitat and public health, the prospects of the New Economic Order following the fall of the Soviet Union, the nature of fascism today, the prospect of decolonization, the demand of a pluralist society, the danger of scientists and technologists becoming 'harlots of the privileged', the space age as the means of organized global tyranny, the issues of Indo-Pak

relations, the intricacies of Pokharan diplomacy, the need for an aggressive and consistent anti-multi-national demonstration, the global *chowkidari* (policing) and post-modernist world scenario were discussed threadbare. These were ideas as solvent of the Establishment, ideas to corrode faith in irrational perceptions and traditions, ideas that sought to evolve a rational line of action, ideas to see through the emotional delusions about colonial revolutions, ideas to comprehend the laws of motion of stable society capable of subordinating selfishness, greed and predatory instincts and enlarging altruism as the dominant ethos of human life.

Haksar's principal concern had been the analysis of the problems of peace and development in the process of nation-building. He was keen on locating the imperatives for the rise of the nation states and the essentials of the material and non-material ingredients of India — nationalism. He was convinced that nationalism had a direct relationship with industrialization which, in its turn, had a significant impact on ideas and values as well as on social and political systems. He emphasized, time and again, that industrialization, meaningful land reform, self-sufficiency, secularism, participatory democracy and a peaceful cooperative world-order were conceived by the leaders of the Indian struggle as constituting the very foundation of a healthy nation state in India. The idea, envisioned at Lahore (1929) and Karachi (1931), typified in the personality and ideas of a charismatic Jawaharlal Nehru and in the formation of the Congress Planning Group, institutionalized in the Indian Constitution, the Directive Principles, the Fundamental Rights and the Preamble, reiterated in Avadi and Bhubaneswar (1964) and in the initiation of the Planning process became over time an integral part of a national inheritance.

What disturbed Haksar most was the fact that these prescriptions based on a national consensus had been reduced during his life time to certain rituals leading to the growth of remarkable credibility gaps in the whole system. It was clearly discernible to him that the early leaders of independent India were unable to forge reliable institutions on permanent footing to carry out India's agrarian, social and industrial revolutions. Besides the cumulative impact of the tenacious persistence of caste, religious, communal, regional and linguistic particularisms and the decline of moral fibre of the polity fostered selfishness, dishonesty, personal advancement, political and social manipulation and corruption in public life causing perceptive erosion of ideology and idealism. In fact, Haksar was troubled by the stagnation of India's developments, the absence of a virile public debate on great national issues, amazing impetus to



consumerism and dehumanizing concentration of wealth, an artificial urgency engineered by an increasing pace of globalization, liberalization and the rush for disinvestment of public sector units as well as the gradual but steady decline in India's commitment to non-alignment and an independent foreign policy in the face of the ascendancy of a super power with its irresistible imperial arrogance. Development and progress, Haksar believed, were meaningful only in the context of the social processes operating within the framework of certain historical/ ethnic and geographical specificities. Since the processes of thinking and reasoning are essential for human development, Haksar was somewhat peeved to find that even the creative minority of Indian humanity had been living largely in a state of intellectual inertia.

On the eve of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Haksar saw that the interaction between human consciousness based on rationality, justice and progress and the explosion of knowledge and technology intensified the tensions between the forces of continuity and change. The management of that tension is the principal task of social engineering, especially in India with its mind boggling diversities and heightened democratic consciousness. All societies everywhere in the world have been presented with development opportunities to resolve these tensions. But the task should be carried out according to the specificities of definite social realities. There was no ready-made universally applicable remedy.

The object of the whole exercise of management of tensions in India should be to steer the process of change in such away as to invest the imperatives of the past, present and future with an orderly and creative development in terms of practical experience of life. It should aim at the attainment of a satisfactory equilibrium between security, social stability, production and distribution of wealth and if the equilibrium is disturbed, it would denote the decline of the society and the entropy of the national ethos and of the collaborative social existence. The importance of land reform, able management of rural tensions, the creation of an effective, economic and social infrastructure including rural banking and credit flow, removal of rural indebtedness and the system of private money lending, provisions for various technical agricultural assistance such as, a system of irrigation, road transportation and marketing facilities, technical and formal education through schools and health services etc. are some of essentials necessary to create the climate of harmony, cooperation and peace.

Concentrating on the main problems confronting the contemporary Indian state-system, Haksar called for a definitive and

determined effort to clean up the grossly distorted agrarian relations in the country without which self-reliant and independent capitalism would not grow and without which the conditions for an egalitarian society would remain an idle dream. He insisted that one cannot overlook that the imperatives of social equality should be closely associated with a frontal assault on the antiquated social structure without which the entire social energy, now contained within 'the cellular structure of our caste system' could not be released for effective social action. The process of secularization of the Indian mind must be pursued with unrelenting zeal without which one would never be able to create the appropriate ideology in a land of immense diversities. In a fast moving world with cybernetics, space science and information technology, Indian intellectuals, scientists, technocrats and bureaucrats were called upon to face the hard realities confronting the independent survival of the nation. They must be bold enough to opt for effective steps based on rationality, conviction, a total perspective and an integrated concept of progress transcending petty attractions of temporary gains. Fragmented perceptions would release contorted vision, contradictory policies and warped options. Thus Haksar was convinced that with the existing pattern of property relations unchanged, the poor would become poorer. With limited growth and purchasing power and modernization confined to a small privileged few, the industrial sector of India would be fashioned only for a small section of the population. The country would then be ripped open to a deep penetration of the multinationals and the advanced capitalist assault, and as a result, he prognosticated, the entire order of the economic development of the country would move away from independent growth and self-reliance. In such a situation, he added, stagnation, debasement of the state of public morals and astronomical growth of corruption would be inevitable. Haksar was clear in his mind that the dominant political culture in the country has been unable to grasp that the development process had generated over time a logic of its own that could only be comprehended by humanity, secular outlook, morality, self-sacrifice and integrity. 'If, we are not members of one another, if we have no sympathy at this elementary level', he wrote in great anxiety, 'then we have no human concern at all, and any pretence of a higher kind of sympathy is mockery'.

It is somewhat wearisome that a section of leading intellectuals are opposed to measures such as 'reservations' being adopted to deal with the worst form of social apartheid in the country. To take another example of the staggering erosion of political will, social responsibility and ethical values is



the fact that thousands of Indian farmers have been taking recourse to self-inflicted termination of life due to hunger, poverty and indebtedness much to the callous indifference of the government. Paucity of irrigation facilities, meager credit flow, neglect of marketing, transportation and commercial infrastructure, poor supply of irrigation and drinking water appalling educational facilities including vocational and technical education and health facilities, draw of urban centres, encroachments by industrial requirements, the threat of Special Economic Zones, the shrinking of agricultural land, decreasing agricultural output, the ever widening rural and urban divide are only some of the visible signposts of the morbid life style of the rural India riddled with caste and sub-caste divisions. The staggering fact is that Poverty has been the *differentia specifica* of India's development; its collective identity and symbol, its insignia and its dairy bread and that about 45 per cent of children today go to bed hungry.

It may not be amiss here to point out that although the Indian economy has been recording eight per cent growth rate, with remarkable visibility of the presence of Tata, Mittal etc. in the World market, there is a growing concern about spread of discontentment and violence in the country. More than 180 districts are under increasing influence of so-called Naxalism. A large number of young men and women are being drawn into destructive struggle for change. It is of utmost importance that this trend is checked and the youth are brought into the fold of development 'with an imaginative approach especially so, as more than 67 per cent of the electorate are youth (18-36) who could be employed as effective work force at the grass-root level. So far, all violence, even violence due to land system, poverty, hunger and unemployment is dealt with not as a human problem but as law and order issues requiring harsh employment of force, the monotony of which is often disturbed by spasms of uncertain and insincere negotiations by a pusillanimous government. The impact of this approach has been disastrous — the spread of violence, fissiparous tendencies, terrorism and religious fundamentalism.

One of the striking phenomena of the new industrialization project during the current phase of international capitalism is the marked indifference shown by the administration to the sufferings of the rural poor despite the inauguration of the rural employment guarantee scheme. The full-throated official professions that the Special Economic Zones would build in rural areas the 'necessary infrastructure' and would enhance enormous possibilities of employment generation are somewhat misleading. One is not sure if the displaced persons would be suitably

rewarded with prospects of improving their living standards or whether the workers of the new industries set up by foreign companies would have the right to form trade unions with effective bargaining power and if the government would not back out of the welfare commitments due to the pressure from and reservations of the corporates. One is also apprehensive of the nature, extent and level of the vocational and professional courses, which should be built into the system. One is not impressed by the promise to train a work force from the locally displaced persons — a work force that would be both talented and familiar with international practices and business environment. There is no committed cadre-based organized and committed youth movement dedicated to monitor the whole project in defence of the displaced peasantry and their dependents as well as the workers with a view to promote harmonious rural society amidst appalling poverty, illiteracy, rural indebtedness, domestic and social violence, the rapacious intermediary agencies, inadequate credit availability, existing oppressive law and order machinery, absence of credible official assistance and incentives, the inevitable gap between pronouncements and practice, the existing social economic and cultural divisions and tremendous tolerance for tardy gradualness (popularly known as *chalta hai* cultural ambience). It is necessary to emphasize the importance of hastening purposefully towards a comprehensible direction. China has been engaged in a process of a sensational industrial transformation backed by a process of disciplined engagement with socialist developments for five decades. Despite the pulls and pressures of the economically marginalized, it has created conditions for remaining the world's most attractive destination for foreign investment. Yet there are rumblings of discontent. China's Parliament was officially informed that there were 87,000 incidents of mass protest in 2005. Low income of peasants, and poor facilities of education and health and general infrastructure prompted the Chinese Communist Party to adopt a renewed pledge to build a 'new socialist countryside' with a view to generate social harmony in the process of development. As observed by Dr. Manmohan Singh himself, the globalization process has widened the urban/rural divide and deepened impoverishment as an international phenomenon. There is much to learn from China and its pragmatic approach, but probably with reservations and certainly enriched by our own experience in industrial growth especially in the midst of the New Imperialism's triumphant exuberance. Circumspection is imperative especially in view of the profusion of the existing multinational passion. In India, the social unrest triggered by the displacement of huge unorganized

population living not on periodical unemployment but on dehumanizing perennial poverty, cannot be expected to assist India's soft-landing on the world market despite US assistance. New tensions would be added on to existing ones emanating from chronic underdevelopment and startling diversities and uncertainties. In fact, government intervention acquiring land for private projects is a dangerous precedence especially when there is a reasonable apprehension that the acquired land would be subleased to private promoters. Around the Hi-Tech Mall oriented cities, such as Delhi, farmers are keen to sell their land to private colonizers who, in turn, are busy building ultra modern townships for an affluent, extrovert, self-centred, aggressive middle class. Agrarian tension has intensified caste wars, brutal suppression of dalits and tribals, and has helped organize an unholy alliance between rural administration, politicals and a trigger-happy mafia. Organized crime backed by sophisticated ammunitions has been flourishing in a perennial climate of scarcity, poverty ill-health and famine. An effective and meaningful balance must be worked out between an increased agricultural productivity and food self-sufficiency, the demands for industrialization and employment. Scientific land-use, adequate compensation and rehabilitation should be the watchword for all SEZ operations.

We may recall that Haksar felt that human nature matured through the centuries in the process of complex interaction between consciousness, society and nature and the whole process affirmed the primacy of love over hatred, justice over injustice and liberty over tyranny. In the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the interaction between human consciousness and knowledge intensified the tension between continuity and change. The management of this tension has been a historic task. Haksar succinctly added that in the contemporary world certain mindsets, including that of free enterprise, world market and US dream of world domination, have become, so opaque and oblivious of the imperatives of change that they have released forces that would lead to convulsions and immoderate social and political transformations. Statesmanship consists in managing the tensions in order to contain explosive flashpoints. Insensitiveness to human travails, Haksar underlined, is the curse of 'the heartless consumerism' and Indian statesmen, economists and intellectuals were urged to ponder over the unbridled consumerism now typified by the proliferating Malls and disappearing shops, plunging the society into an eerie prospect of urban anarchy as well. It is a striking phenomenon that the individual is being transformed from a Citizen with strong and unmistakable social



commitment to a self-centred and aggressive Consumer per-excellence. A democratic process and a vibrant civil society are indispensable for nation-building but it is an ongoing process and in India with all its poverty, ill-health, illiteracy and superstitions, the state cannot afford to muddle through the development process by privatization, deinvestment and an irrational direct investment policy. The democratic process must be sustained by the institutions of *iqbal* or political morality and *soonwai* or the satisfaction of being heard. It is in this context that Haksar called for the internalization of the passions encapsulized behind the words such as '*swadeshi*', '*swaraj*' and Gandhian trustyship as parts of our national inheritance.

It is accepted by all perceptive observers that the development process in the Third World must place people at the centre of its concern. The purpose of the development should aim at enlarging all human demands including income. It should endeavour to augment all human capabilities and use those capabilities through an enabling process for growth and employment. Equality, sustainability, productivity and empowerment should form the basic fundamental pillars of development strategy. The ultimate object of the strategy should be expansion of human opportunities, its focus of concern should be people, its guiding principles should be equality and justice, and its principal interest should be poverty reduction.

The process of development of Indian nation state as a secular and pluralist society has been contested, debated, questioned and denied by various external and internal critics. It has been difficult for them, right from the days of British imperialism to the present-day contributors in the Foreign Affairs and from Veer Savarkar to today's cohorts of that lineage, to appreciate that in a country of glorious diversities, the conscious attempt not to overwhelm these remarkable diversities by rigid political and cultural uniformity was a momentous decision. They also fail to grasp the idea of structuring modern India by accepting and respecting diversities as an essential part of 'a richly embroidered piece of textile' offering an enormous field of human creativity. It retained a popular tradition of keeping '*deen*' (religion) and '*duniya*' (worldly life) in separate compartments as the basis of a pluralist society.

The significant characteristics of the contemporary world are the end of the Soviet Union, the gradual termination of the cold war and reluctant departure of the cold war mindset, the vigorous assertion of brute force by an arrogant super power, the astounding technological revolution

and its fall out, the aggressive tempo of international trade, globalization, so-called liberalization and the accelerated process of urbanization of societies. The US hegemony in a unipolar world has been conducted through the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, multi-national corporations, sheer military might and extremely destructive hi-tech weaponry. It also operates occasionally through the Security Council and cultural regimentations and imposition of values irrespective of regional cultural consciousness. There are some of the diacritical marks of the new global phenomenon. India, China, Russia, Central Asian, African and South American States are confronted by this brave new world in infinite number of ways; the exclusive command over traditional domestic affairs may be denied by direct or indirect interference. It may lead to remapping a whole area, and the imposition of a novel version of 'democracy' by a super-power that might manufacture a fragile-constitution, organize an election, invent the political conventions for the new state and provide it with a political and administrative slice, sponsor sectarian violence, foment historic rivalries, engineer bloody civil wars and enforce law, order and habitual obedience through thousands of American and British soldiers. In a nutshell, the post-modern international relations indicate the break-down of all distinctions between domestic and foreign affairs signifying that both the concept and reality of sovereignty were being questioned and torn asunder in the name of transparency, openness, interdependence, vulnerability and various real and imagined violations of human rights. The alleged assault against the Kurds committed by Saddam Hussain in 1979-85 as a trusted ally of the United States, might be interpreted as a crime against humanity in 2005 by the same super power. If the search of Weapons of Mass Destruction failed and CIA's information proved unfounded, the US power elite might still continue to reduce a great cradle of Messopotamian civilization to rubble in the hope of ensuring that no significant power emerged in an area distinguished by the presence of oil and oil reserve. Scant respect was shown to the Security Council which instead of enforcing collective security has become an instrument of collective subservience. The West is now at an extraordinary peak of power. Foreign Affairs, the principal organ of US perception of its world mission, has been celebrating the new responsibility with great aplomb. The super power's opponent has disappeared from the map. Military conflict among Western powers has become unthinkable. Western military power is unrivalled. There was no economic challenge to the West with the exception of Japan. It dominates international economic institutions. Global, political

and security issues are the special and exclusive areas of Pentagon's concern. The war against terror is a blanket term for military intervention and regime-change.

For 40 years, international relations had been conditioned by what has been termed as the 'Cold War paradigm' under which one group of relatively wealthy and mostly 'democratic' states led evidently by the United States, found itself engaged continually in ideological, political, economic, and, at times, military conflicts with another group of somewhat poorer, communist societies led by the Soviet Union. Much of the conflict occurred in the Third World outside of those two camps. The so-called Third World was mostly composed of countries which were more often than not poor, lacked political stability and were recently independent. Thanks to efforts of a visionary leader of men, Jawaharlal Nehru, an effective bloc of non-aligned states functioned in the Third World much to the chagrin of the West. They were susceptible to subversion indulged in by mentionable and non-mentionable agencies. The term, non-alignment was also disparaged periodically as immoral. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, a new paradigm was called for and some of the scholars including Samuel Huntington thought that global politics had become too complex 'to be stuffed into two pigeon holes'. Despite initial ecstasy about Francis Fukuyama's *End of History* and the triumph of liberal democracy, capitalism, free enterprise, some serious theoreticians come to grasp the new situation through Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations*. It is in this context that, the emergence of a frothy debate in the *Foreign Affairs* liberally engaging a large number of eminent scholars both from the universities and the Pentagon becomes perceptible. 'Inter-civilizational issues', Huntington claimed in defence of his *locus classicus* 'are increasingly replacing inter-superpower issues as the top items on the international agenda.' These issues include arms proliferation, particularly of weapons of mass destruction and the means of delivering them, human rights, immigration and finally, the viability of democracy as understood by the White House. It is claimed that all these issues, the West is on one side and most of the other 'major civilizations' are on the other. The characteristics of that new post cold-war world may be recapitulated:

- The breaking down of the distinction between domestic and foreign affairs.
- Mutual interference in traditional domestic affairs and mutual surveillance (both interference and surveillance could only be indulged in by the United States).



- The codification of rules of behaviour of the states both inside and outside their national frontiers to preserve a collective security system and the rule of law to be enforced, by certain international bodies and, if necessary, by the use of force.
- The growing irrelevance of borders: this has come about primarily through the hanging role of state and also through missiles and satellites and other sophisticated devices and also devious methods of regime-change.
- The whole architecture of international security system has been organized for and is based on the imperatives of transparency, mutual openness, interdependence and mutual vulnerability.
- The institutions to maintain the new balance of interstate relationship are the Strasbourg Court of Human Rights, the IMF and OECD with their own systems of economic surveillance, the Non-Proliferation Treaty, International Atomic Energy Commission, the World Trade Organization, and the unreformed constitution of the UNO.
- In view of the overwhelming concern for democracy and the lack of it, the US constructs of 'hot pursuit', 'pre-emptive attack' and 'regime change' and 'remap' substantial areas of the world are parts of the road map of American power-elite eager to work for a 'second Roman Empire'.

This is backed by a systematic application of some odd theoretical jugglery. Take, for example the following passage: 'The presumption of Westerners that "other peoples" who modernize must become "like us" is a bit of Western arrogance that in itself illustrates the clash of civilizations. To argue that Slovaks and Serbs, Arabs and Jews, Hindus and Muslims, Russians and Tajiks, Tamils and Sinhalese, Tibetan and Chinese, Japanese — all belong to a single Western defined universal civilization is to fly in the face of reality.' It is widely believed that a 'universal human civilization' could only be the product of 'universal power'. Thus Roman power created a near-universal civilization within the limited confines of the ancient world; the European Colonialism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century extended Western culture throughout much of contemporary world, American hegemony was challenged for long by the Soviet system in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and it is but natural that following the period of decolonization and 'termination' of Soviet power, American hegemony in a unipolar world should be supreme although it might find itself confronted with the reassertion of the pride and prejudices, customs and conventions of indigenous, historically rooted

cultures and civilizations having distinct languages, beliefs and institutions. In this context it is asserted that the overwhelming trend in Indian developments is away from Nehru's vision of a secular socialist, western, parliamentary democracy to a society shaped by Hindu fundamentalism. With grave concern the *New York Times* described: "the relentless floodwaters of a growing Hindu rage towards India's Muslim minority spreading among India's solid middle class Hindus — its merchants and accountants, its lawyers and engineers — creating uncertainty of the two religions to get along".

In fact, that the clash of civilization has been replacing cold war, has become the constant refrain of US world view and it is articulated by flamboyant spokesmen and by more sophisticated exponents of the US mission. That mission has been designed to contain the 'the irresponsible' bellicosity of large number of pre-modern cultures and also to hamstring the revival of Russia under Putin who has been working ceaselessly not to lose the energy war and is determined to use energy as a weapon of influence. The ascendancy of China as a global power, the formation of the Shanghai Corporation Organization, comprising China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgystan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan enrolling Iran as a member and with open invitation to India, constitute, according to US, a dangerous trend. It seemed almost preposterous that Uzbekistan, almost a client state of the US, would be encouraged to serve a notice to White House to close down its bases at Khanabad and other places within a period 60 days followed by the conclusion of an offensive-defensive alliance between Russia and Uzbekistan amidst much funfare, as Uncle Sam looked on! It is in this context that India as a strategic partner has been visualised as an active partner of a grand Asian Nato. As Putin proclaimed and Dick Cheney responded positively, the second cold war has been inaugurated.

Ever since Roosevelt promised protection to the Saudis in exchange for uninterrupted supply of cheap oil, there has been a steady growth of American power in the region engulfing the entire area of Persian Gulf and Caspian. The new doctrine of American mission, the diminishing returns of existing oil fields, the dramatic increase in the international demand for energy, the presence of an invincible striking power of the American armed forces, together with the presence of the valueless mandarins in Defence and in the State Departments, (pushed into action by large multinational corporations) have given a new wind to the seductive option of an everlasting new Roman Empire — much more extensive and infinitely more lucrative.

The US interest in the Middle East has been longstanding, it is crucial to the whole concept of global control since the outbreak of the Second World War. It was an essential part of the old British empire necessary for the economic, military and political control of the globe. The process of active operations of the US in the region began in 1940's, including the overthrow of the democratically elected Mossadegh government in Iran in 1953. Between 1940 and 1967, US companies increased their control of Middle Eastern oil reserve from 10 per cent in 1940 to 30 per cent in 1967. After the fall of the Shah of Iran in 1979, the system of indirect rule through distant surrogates became unstable. The Carter doctrine sought to ensure an interrupted flow of Gulf oil by a permanent presence of the US military at the Strait of Hormuz and the formation of a Rapid Development Force to deal with emergencies. The Gulf War, though inconclusive, brought much stronger US military presence in the region. Oil is becoming increasingly scarce and the strategic significance of the Middle East and its oil fields in Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait, as the key provider of oil, is becoming more pressing. Through the control of the global oil spigot, US hopes to keep effective control over the global economy for years to come. Thomas Friedman was candid: 'If we occupy Iraq and simply install a pro-US autocrat to run the Iraq gas station (as we have in other Arab oil states), then this war for oil would be immoral'. Hence the invocation to democracy, human rights, justice and freedom from tyranny. The net-result of this great quest for freedom in Iraq, apart from unprecedented physical destruction, is the massacre of more than 650,000 proud Iraqi civilian, loss of lives of US soldiers together with the free and frequent use of prohibited weapons and chemicals such as the dreadful phosphorous bombs. Fallujah, Hadithiya, and Abu Gharib are some of the devastated exhibits of US crime against humanity.

After a close scrutiny of the defence strategy documents, D. Armstrong concluded:

'The Plan is for the United States to rule the world. The overt theme is unilateralism, but it is ultimately a story of domination. It calls for the United States to maintain its overwhelming military superiority and prevent new rivals from rising up to challenge it on the world stage. It calls for dominion over friends and enemies alike. It says not that the United States must be more powerful, or most powerful, but that it must be absolutely powerful'.

The targets are known: after Iraq, Iran, North Korea, Syria and then ... One wonders what would be role of India in the process.

# 3

## *Globalization versus Sovereignty: Substitution of Paradigm*

*Andrey Volodin*

*I*n the mid-80s, scholars and experts in the field of international relations tended to believe in “optimistic” solutions to the World in general, and to the transitional societies in particular. For generations to come, one of the eminent social scientists argued, the scenario could be favourable because mankind ‘possesses wells of ingenuity, rationality, and yes, even compassion, which have yet to be fully tapped. We think such 20<sup>th</sup> prophets of doom as Spengler, Sorokin, and Toynbee, were wrong’.<sup>1</sup>

The historic role of modern, i.e. Western, civilization was regarded as preserving humanistic values and nurturing the idea of creative freedom in a world engineered by the sovereign “actors”, such as Science and Technology.

At the close of the 80s, it was taken for granted that such progressive features of Western civilization as the valuing of intellectual



and physical effort, the break with fatalistic perceptions, the rule by consent and consensus, tolerance and individual autonomy, adjustment of conflicting social interests and historic memories, — such ideas were enthusiastically accepted throughout the world. Two decades ago Western civilization, or the “End of History”, was addressed as the most vibrant, progressive, and creative mode of human interaction, and as a “new culture”, a new universalistic concept based on “a one world” paradigm.

However, the abrupt decay of the so called World Socialist Community, from 1989 to 1991, quite unexpectedly reinvigorated the “end-of-ideology” debate. Francis Fukuyama, for example, argued that the total failure of “scientific Socialism” as a viable political ideology was a turning point in humankind's socio-cultural evolution. Thus, the “End of History” was elegantly transformed into the “unabashed” victory of economic and political liberalism.

Downplaying the significance of rising religious fundamentalism (presently referred to as “political Islam”) and ethnic nationalism in the global scenario for the final decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Fukuyama anticipated that the universal triumph of the Western ideas supported by the spread of its consumerist culture to the remotest corners of the globe would prove to be unstoppable. Driven by the logic of market forces' development and by the expansion of powerful new technologies, Western capitalist democracy had asserted itself as the “final form of human government”.<sup>2</sup>

Developing his argument a little bit further, Fukuyama disagreed with his predecessors' (Daniel Bell, to name the most eminent figure) bleak assessment of free-market liberalism. Indeed, Fukuyama envisaged a high-tech manifestation of the old and obsolete nineteenth-century free-market utopia. Feeling somewhat uneasy about the coming ideological vacuum as a logical consequence of the “end of history”, the gentleman nevertheless expected the rapid marketization of most social relations in a globalizing world dedicated to self-interested economic calculation, the endless solving of technological problems and the satisfaction of growing consumer demands.

Fukuyama defends and expands his central idea that the end of ideology would be one of the indispensable elements of free-market/neo-liberal globalization. He not only emphasizes that the “end of history” is the apex of an “irreversible process”, but also articulates the role of Anglo-American norms and values in shaping the various parameters of the new World Order. It goes without saying, Fukuyama concludes, that the



United States, the “lonely” superpower has made it inevitable that Americanization will accompany globalization.

In my view, any argument in favour of the end of ideology/history ought to be considered in a wider historical perspective. So, Fukuyama's sayings constituted a sensible response to the atmosphere of the late 80s. They echoed, in their own way, the central ideas of free-market forces, politically asserting themselves, both domestically and internationally. As the eminent American sociologist Fred Dallmayr notes, “Western liberalism and liberalization have emerged as the triumphant ideological panacea, spreading its effects around the globe”.<sup>3</sup> Hence, twentieth-century “end of history” visions were treated in earnest as a natural finality to which humanity no longer poses an alternative.

Nevertheless, the 90s, the “greediest” decade in human history (as Joseph Stiglitz would address that period), have elapsed, and new ideological images have started to assert themselves. The opening decade of the twenty-first century is rapidly becoming a permanent battleground for clashing ideologies. The chief “actor”, the still dominant market ideology presently referred to as “globalism”, has to withstand the growing resistance.

The coming ideological contest over the meaning and direction of globalization will deeply impact the political, cultural and ethical issues of the present century.

Putting it differently, globalism, this ideological manifestation of the neo-liberal mode of globalization, has become, at least for the time being, the dominant political discourse of the early twenty-first century. Within this paradigm, globalization is equated with marketization. The latter is regarded as a universal principle shaping social development and human interactions. A closer analysis of the phenomenon reveals the following deep-seated elements and basic functions of globalism.

- Market principles, norms and roles are treated as a model for even the most intimate dimensions of our social existence. Put differently, market-created social interactions are classified as “supernatural” forces, more powerful than individual intentions and human will.
- Normative evaluation reigns supreme in the sense that market is a “sacred” and “benign” force worthy, in the final dispensation, of becoming human beings' most intimate partner.
- Markets as a guiding force for any economic and social action is a natural way of organizing the world space. The implication is quite

clear: good citizens should demand from their political regimes that they promote globalization as understood in the “new political economy”, based on the “Washington Consensus”.

- “Market interests” (i.e. those embodied by the “forces of demand and supply”) are presented as general intentions, and there is little doubt as to who is the commanding husband in this “patrimonial marriage”.

One can easily develop this argument. The most rigid forms of defence of “market behaviour”, in the political context of the “roaring nineties” (Joseph Stiglitz), acquired the shape of dogmatic ossification of dominant political discourse and power structures.

The central tenets of neo-liberalism include the primacy of economic growth (as divorced from development); the paramount importance of free trade to invigorate growth; the idea of “free market” unrestricted by the State; the primacy of individual choice (“natural selection” won by the “haves”); the reduction of government regulation; the advocacy of an evolutionary model of social development anchored in the Western experience and allegedly applicable to the rest of the world.<sup>4</sup>

The paradigm of globalization, according to the existing economic and political science discourse, is to be integrated with the no less existential concept, that of sovereignty. At the end of the previous century, at least two basic notions materialized within the international academic community.

The first group, normally addressed as the enthusiastic champions of globalization, hold the view that the process is accompanied with a significant change in the World System and demonstrates convincingly the victory of market spontaneity over compulsory regulation of economy, exercised by the state. As integration widens and deepens globally, markets, the “enthusiastic” scholars and politicians argue, are being automatically converted into the sophisticated mechanisms framing both economy and polity, domestically and internationally. In a highly integrated world economy of this type, the nation-state, so the argument goes, has proved to be functionally inadequate and socially irrelevant.

The “pillars” of this paradigm are: the state that is “supranational” (i.e. existing only within the “triad” of globalization: USA, Western Europe, Japan); the economy that is “borderless” (according to its laws of motion); and national governments that are at best “municipal”. (In my humble opinion, this paradigm is superficial, academically and politically). In its simplistic forms, the “neoliberal” concept of sovereignty under globalization runs as follows. With the eclipse of the state and the

ascendancy of markets, the forces of “demand and supply” are enabled to have full play thus liberating the inner human capacity and evenly distributing prosperity throughout the world.

The critics of neo-liberal version of globalization, highly influential both in advanced and transitional societies, accept the growing wholeness of the world economy. However, they strongly question the positive consequences of globalization for the rest of the world beyond the borders of the “globalized” community. Keeping in mind various disparities (economic, social, cultural, etc.) among nations (as well as within them), the “critics” envision an increasing concentration of economic and political power in the hands of multinational corporations, the enlargement of interregional and intercontinental inequalities, the growing marginalization of the lower classes, and the deepening of environment degradation. The security and welfare of the “underclass” (note: 1/8<sup>th</sup> of the population in advanced industrial nations, according to the UN official statistics) can be protected and sustained only by the institution of nation-state. Interventionist state is considered as a strategic force to maintain internal social stability.

The malign consequences of globalization are obvious. They include: loss of national autonomy in economics, foreign policy, and national security; foreign domination in the realm of national culture and economy; exposure of national economy to external shocks and other capital disturbances; deepening underdevelopment; widening of inequalities and immiseration of the “broad masses”; political decay and ethnic conflict resulting in national disintegration. Assessing globalization's general aftereffects on transitional societies, the American political scientist Peter Berger aptly noted that “Cultural globalization is a turbulent affair, very hard to control”.<sup>5</sup>

It's really a commonplace saying that globalization is an exceptionally controversial phenomenon. The empirical data confirm the highly uneven or asymmetrical spread of globalization. The advanced industrial nations, that is less than 20 per cent of the world's population, have a share of about two-thirds of the world's exports, whilst the transitional societies, with over 80 per cent of the entire population, have a share of about one-third. Collectively, the “triad” (European Union, Japan, and the United States) has the lion's share of world exports (approximately 60%), or about 90 per cent of the share of the advanced industrial nations.<sup>6</sup> These facts are indicative of the growing concentration of production and distribution in the “triad” area. The data also witness that globalization means “triadization” and this “construction” is highly truncated by nature.



It is common knowledge nowadays that the term “globalization” is an elegant euphemism for American economic dominance. The economic manifestation of globalization is frequently treated as the “Washington consensus”. This model requires the less developed countries (LDC's) to “open up” their economies thus exposing them to the capricious winds blowing from the “triad” in general, the United States in particular. Being market-oriented, neo-liberal globalization is politically shaped by power-motivated states; these are the states located mostly in the “triad” area.

Much of the “New Economy” rested, as is known, on the “enlightened” state interventionism in such strategically central domains as Internet, innovations derived from basic research, government-funded advances in medicine and biology. America, notes Nobel Laureate Joseph Stiglitz, “never fully bought the myth that big government is bad. Abroad America preached a version of capitalism, based on a minimalist role of the state, which America had itself rejected”.<sup>7</sup> The fragile neo-liberal model of globalization is continuously tested by numerous regroupings of geoeconomic and geopolitical forces taking place in the early twenty-first century. These processes, naturally, are weakening the contemporary leadership arrangements of the United States.

Flux and conflict are an invariable hallmark of the constantly pulsating world scene: these two can emerge as a disruptive force for economic globalization. The latter, stresses the distinguished social scientist Baldev Raj Nayar, “rests on more shaky grounds than is often believed by those who focus only on the attacks on it for reasons of social justice or protecting the environment. ...The world economy can easily fragment once again, along the fault-lines already etched by the existing regional economic blocs”.<sup>8</sup>

So far as the post-Communist Russia is concerned, ‘Globalization versus Sovereignty’ debate is of utmost political significance. The reason here is quite evident. The neo-liberal model of globalization, put into operation by Russia's political class, has drastically deteriorated the state of economy and society. In this context, the experience of the “late take-off” modernization is extremely relevant for the Russian people nowadays.

As a “late starter” society (genetically similar to Germany, Italy, and Japan, to name just a few), Russia from the very beginning exhibited a much deeper “development gap” between the traditional (pre-and early industrial) and modern (industrial) sectors of national economy and, consequently, between modes of “articulation” of the social forces that stood behind these two formations. The transcontinental dimensions of the

Russian landmass made the State the principal instrument for rapid economic growth and balanced social development. The “classical” West European scenario of State/Society relationship was entirely irrelevant in the preindustrial Russian context. Nevertheless, the state in Russia was much less consistent in its attempts to “reimburse” the absence of modernization prerequisites (first and foremost, viable economic and political institutions) than, say, its counterparts in other “second echelon” nations mentioned above.

Nowadays, the reassessment of the State's role under globalization has become the main theme of political discourse in Russia and transitional societies at large. The focus of the debate is centered around the so called “Developmental State”, the model and the reality that provided an enforced economic growth for Japan as well as for a number of “newly industrialized countries” of the Far East.

The “Developmental State” as conceptualized by the American scholar Chalmers Johnson<sup>9</sup> combines economic growth and social development being fundamental priorities and strategic goals of the society for generations to come. Development constitutes the pivotal project of the state, whilst the “Developmental State” is obsessed with four basic elements/functions:

- A compact cohesive bureaucracy composed of “the best managerial talent available in the system”. The fundamental mission of this formation is to elaborate and execute an industrial policy conducive to rapid development.
- The political system that provides an adequate area of activity for “rational bureaucracy” to function and sustain the management of economy from a strategic perspective. Under these circumstances, the field is liberated for other government agencies to “take care” of the vested interests and to defend the priority of Development.
- The enforcement of market-friendly methods of state intervention for “spurring out” industry and avoiding excessive state control, loss of incentives and corruption. Chief among the market-conforming initiatives stands the *strategic guidance* to engineer state/industry collaboration rather than conflict.
- The existence of an efficient “pilot organization” like the Japanese Ministry for International Trade and Industry (MITI) authorized to elaborate and implement industrial strategy as part and parcel of a comprehensive and long-term development paradigm.



The idea of the “Developmental State” is deeply rooted in a state-society consensus that originated with the Meiji Restoration of 1868. This consensus is founded on the “economic growth plus social development” national accord and on the understanding of unavoidable supremacy of Sovereignty that under no circumstances can be sacrificed.

The “Developmental State” as an idea and an institution is hardly existent in contemporary Russia. Nevertheless, the “absolute imperative” of Sovereignty that has recently acquired a status of national consensus will push the Russian society, elites and masses alike, in the direction of instituting an indigenous version of the “Developmental State”.

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup>Mc Cord W. and A. Mc Cord, *Paths to Progress: Bread and Freedom in Developing Societies*. N.Y.-L.: W.W.Norton, 1986, p.16.

<sup>2</sup>Fukuyama F., “The End of history?”, *National Interest*, #16 (Summer 1989), p.4.

<sup>3</sup>Dallmayr F., *Alternative Visions: Paths in the Global Village*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998, p.73.

<sup>4</sup>See: Steger M.B., *Globalization: The New Market Ideology*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.

<sup>5</sup>Berger, Peter, *Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World*. N.Y.-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p.15.

<sup>6</sup>Nayar B.R., *The Geopolitics of Globalization. The Consequences for Development*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005, p.228.

<sup>7</sup>Stiglitz J.E., *The Roaring Nineties*. London: Penguin, 2003, p.277.

<sup>8</sup>Nayar B.R., *The Geopolitics of Globalization. The Consequences for Development*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005, p.128.

<sup>9</sup>See: Johnson Chalmers, *MITI and Japanese Miracle: the Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925-1975*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1982, pp. 305-324.

# 4

## *Multi-Facets of Threats to Peace and Development*

*Pham Van Chuong*

Allow me in the first place to convey my warmest greetings and best wishes to all of you taking part in this important international conference in the memory of the late Indian thinker and planner, Mr. P.N. Haksar. Allow me also to express my deepest thanks to the Center for Research in Rural and Industrial Development (CRRID), Chandigarh, and its co-workers for their heartfelt hospitality and the appreciable arrangements they have made for my participation in this important event and my stay in their beautiful country.

Looking at the international scenario today, one is glad to note that, since the end of the Second World War, many Asian, African and Latin American nations, once colonized and underdeveloped, have won back national independence and, in more or less peaceful environments, have

scored great achievements in national development, thus consolidating their own independence while helping enhance peace and stability. Cooperation in various fields between and among countries, at the international, regional and sub-regional levels, has contributed significantly to the socio-economic development of participating countries and shared progress alike. That is the bright side of the world picture.

On the other and the dark side, however, new challenges and threats have been added to long existing ones. The costly arms race, especially in nuclear weapons, keeps accelerating while, for many countries, resources and enabling environments for peaceful development are still lacking. Disputes and conflicts, ethnic and religious strifes, terrorism and “counter-terrorism”, and coercive and unilateral measures imposed by some developed countries have done tremendous harm to developing nations. There have been many cases of bigger, stronger, richer and more developed countries bullying smaller, weaker, poorer and less developed countries, infringing upon the latter's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and even launching wars against them, destroying whatever development achievements they may have obtained, trampling upon their aspiration for a peaceful life, and gravely threatening regional and global peace.

Let us take Iraq as one of the numerous examples. To justify their invasion of Iraq, the US and its most loyal allies have resorted to the pretexts of the threat of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) allegedly posed by Iraq and its supposed links with international terrorism. Yet, three years and eight months have passed and no evidence of weapons of mass destruction has been found in Iraq, although occupation forces have literally left no stone unturned. Although the war was officially declared ended three and half years ago, post-invasion killing and destruction keep escalating. Despite an impressive and prolonged foreign military presence, security is still lacking. In much of the country, including the heavily guarded capital city, the cycle of violence is spiraling. Enormous human and material resources, which could have been otherwise channeled toward national reconstruction, continue to be lost and development prospects remain dim in many respects. Meanwhile, far from declining, terrorism has spilled over from one country to another, from Iraq and Afghanistan to Southeast Asia and Europe, and no end to terrorist attacks seems to be in sight.

The Iraqi Government and people have expressed an ardent will to rebuild their ravaged country. But, for their reconstruction efforts to bear

fruit, the on-going violence should be stopped, security restored, and stability ensured. Also, foreign military occupation should be ended, to enable the Iraqi people to solve their own problems in keeping with their earnest desire for peace and legitimate right to self-determination. It is in such a spirit that the Heads of State or Governments of non-aligned countries, in the Final Document of the recent 14<sup>th</sup> NAM Summit in Havana, Cuba, September 11–16, 2006 "affirmed and asserted their determination to respect Iraq's sovereignty, (and) condemn any external interference in Iraq's internal affairs, regardless of the excuse or pretext".

Another note-worthy feature of the current international scene is globalization, economic globalization in the first place.

Globalization has been depicted quite impartially as presenting both opportunities and challenges to all nations. Yet, the current process of economic globalization and trade liberalization has produced uneven benefits among countries. As shown in practice, it has been geared mainly toward creating advantages for a minority of developed countries, development centers and powerful transnational corporations. Meanwhile, the interests of the majority of developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America which, due to a variety of reasons, have lagged behind the general development level, are rarely taken into account in the formulation of international trade and investment rules. Successive meetings of the World Trade Organization (WTO) have shown that trade liberalization, as certain governments and institutions want it to be, would imply a double standard, or a game with two rules, one for the developed North and the other for the developing South. In his new book titled *Making Globalization Work*, Joseph Stiglitz, Nobel Prize laureate and former chief economist for the World Bank, calculates that developed nations levy tariffs on poor countries that are three times higher than those they charge other rich countries. Thus, economic globalization, dominated as it is now by harsh rules imposed by developed countries, keeps threatening to drive many developing countries into further impoverishment, marginalization and dependence.

There should be, therefore, changes conducive to enabling developing countries to overcome the challenges posed and benefit from the opportunities offered by globalization. In other words, globalization should be geared toward benefiting the largest number of countries, their prosperity and their empowerment. It is imperative that adequate resources be allocated to meet the urgent demands for economic development and improved living conditions, eradicate hunger and alleviate poverty, and



narrow down the widening gap between the rich and the poor, in terms of individuals and nations alike. In this connection, increased South-South cooperation, global, regional and sub-regional, could be a feasible and significant method to rally the strength of developing countries.

Allow me now to reserve my concluding remarks for our hosts — the people of India — and Vietnam-India relations. Over the past six decades since independence, the hardworking people of India have made tremendous efforts and recorded remarkable progress in national socio-economic development. We Vietnamese follow their advancement with great admiration and we wish them ever greater successes. We also undertake to do our utmost to help strengthen and expand the friendly and cooperative relationship between Vietnam and India, which took its historical roots in the common struggle for national liberation and independence, which was painstakingly cultivated by the late President Ho Chi Minh and the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, and which serves as a positive contribution to each country's development as well as regional and world peace.

# 5

## Multiple Roots of Threats to Peace and Development

*Paw Lwin Sein*

*T*oday's world is, for better or worse, a Globalized World. This means that not only benefits but also threats are spread all over the world, so much so that there is almost no threat, no matter how country- specific, facing any country on the Globe that cannot in one way or another be the concern of any other given country on that same Globe — no matter how widely separated those two countries may be geographically, socially, or economically. Thus what is a threat to Denmark will have repercussions of one or another kind at the other end of the Globe, in New Zealand! This is the curse of Globalization that we have to take together with its blessings.

### **Proliferation of Small and Heavy Weaponry**

In the days before Globalization arms smuggling and illegal weapons trade were characterized by the following facts:

- Most of the illegal arms were lower in quality and quantity than the arms possessed by the Government against whom they were smuggled, and spare parts and ammunition for them were fairly scarce.
- The illegal arms in question were fairly scarce and so were the smugglers who sold them.
- They were relatively expensive.

All these facts have one thing in common today: they are no longer true. Today, illegal arms are frequently of equal or higher quality than even the arms wielded by the Government against whom they are smuggled. The amount of illegal arms on offer in the black markets of the world is well into millions of units, and the number of illegal dealers in the thousands. And as a result of the two factors above, the price of black market arms has dropped to the point where for about the price of a month's salary one can buy an automatic rifle, and in some areas the price of a hand grenade is so cheap that fishermen use them to catch fish the easy way.

The arming of factions by the superpowers in Afghanistan, in Cambodia, in the Balkans, and in the never-ending conflicts of Africa, combined with the massive loss and theft of arms following the breakup of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (it has been said that the breakdown of the former Albanian Government alone caused the looting of a quarter of a million automatic rifles from the State armories!) flooded the international black market with arms from about 1990 onwards. These arms have fuelled conflicts all over the world, and in addition have caused a sharp rise in armed crime in regions formerly free from that form of crime.

All this is a cause for worry not only for soldiers, but also for politicians, policemen, and economists. Massive black markets in arms make the ending of civil conflicts an even more difficult process than it is already. And because of the massive proliferation of arms, many countries have discovered that to confront drug smugglers is a military task rather than a police job.

## **Poverty and Population**

I believe we should add a third adjective to this problem, to wit: poverty, population, and urban ghettoization. These three interlinked problems can be found all across the Globe, from the slums of Rio de Janeiro to the shanty towns of Johannesburg to the squalid huts of Manila or even the *banlieus* of Paris.

When people are not only poor and jobless in large numbers but are also jam-packed into vast and squalid urban ghettos, segregated from the

rich and affluent city dwellers yet close enough to see their affluence every day, this is a recipe for disaster. And these problems intertwine with other problems as well. When there is a mass of unemployed urban poor, there will, inevitably, be crime; and the massive proliferation in illegal weapons means that much of this crime will be armed crime.

When the problems of a vast urban ghetto become very large they defy quick and easy solutions, and they fester like a permanent running sore on the urban landscape. If (as frequently is the case) that vast urban ghetto is in the Capital City itself, this slum will cause a large disincentive to both investment and to tourism, thus lowering development, thus in turn making the ghetto problem worse — a "vicious cycle". If, as also frequently happens, the slums explode from time to time with vicious riots, this problem becomes even more acute.

And, of course, the most fertile breeding grounds for terrorists of all types are in these teeming slums.

## Health

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDs) and Bird Flu are the two public health problems that have captured the world's attention. And yet in addition to this there are other, older diseases that are quietly making a comeback.

Modern air travel has made the concept of a "localised" outbreak of disease an almost laughable concept. Even with the best possible health checks at international airports, it is impossible to be certain of catching a disease carrier flying from one country to another, particularly if that disease carrier does not himself or herself know if he or she is carrying that disease. The prevention schemes are therefore based more on luck than on science.

The most serious Health threat today is AIDS. Since human sexuality is a force of nature that cannot be controlled by any Government, and since human intravenous drug use seems also just as unstoppable - we cannot expect a change in human behaviour, whether through persuasion or dissuasion, to be the answer!

The human, political and economic costs of AIDS are real, and deep. In many businesses in South Africa, employers appoint two people to fill one job position, because through bitter experience they know that there is a better than fifty per cent chance that in one year one of these two employees will be dead from AIDS. There are several villages in Africa where the children have no fathers and sometimes no mothers as well, where nearly all the children are being brought up by their grandparents.



To control the spread of AIDS, and to maintain the health of those who already have AIDS, will take a large multinational and multi-enterprise effort comprising Governments, NGOs, Pharmaceutical Corporations, and the people themselves. And, of course, the same holds for Bird Flu.

However, it is not just new diseases such as the ones mentioned above that are a threat to peace and development. In recent years, 'old' diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria have slowly and quietly been spreading, sometimes by themselves, sometimes in combination with other diseases such as AIDS, and they too are becoming a renewed threat to peace and development. The reason why these diseases are spreading is that the pathogens responsible are developing a resistance to the vaccines and medicines used to treat them. The creation of new medicines and methods to combat these renewed threats cannot be done on a national basis, because the dimensions of the problem are too wide: therefore these diseases, too, need a multinational and multilateral approach.

## **Environment**

In the average 24-hour news cycle we will probably hear at least one item of news about the environment — and usually not a cheerful piece of news at that! Whether we live in Asia, and have to suffer the pain of forest fire haze, or in Europe, and have to suffer the effects of city smog, or in Africa, and have to suffer desertification — the ill effects of man-made environmental change affect us all.

The intertwined complexity of the World's ecosystem, combined with the tremendous power of industrial-age man to change it — usually for the worse instead of the better — has created changes in the World's weather pattern, the land and the freshwater systems. These changes were nearly all unforeseen, for at the time men set in motion the events which would trigger these changes they did not realize that these would be the side effects of the development they had in mind. Now that the destructive effects of these changes are becoming more and more visible, we are beginning to realize that some of these changes cannot be easily reversed, and some may not even be possible to reverse at all.

Therefore the imperative today is not so much to reverse the effects of our predecessor's previous environmental damage, but to prevent ourselves from causing even more environmental damage — on top of the damage that has already been caused in the past — to the world's increasingly fragile ecosystem.

If we cannot contain this damage, it will be first a threat to development, and next a threat to peace. Uncontrolled logging and unwise agricultural practices have led to massive soil erosion in North Korea, and is the main contributor to the famine there that we see today. This is a clear threat to North Korea's development — and the threat has a political dimension as well, as this is one of the reasons why the stability of the Korean Peninsula is threatened.

### **Economic Dimensions of Peace and Development**

All the problems that have been outlined above affect Peace and Development, and will need to be addressed if we are to have both.

No man, let alone a country, is an island. There is no such thing, today, as a problem specific and unique to one country; what affects one affects us all, to a larger or smaller degree. Therefore it is not only in a spirit of altruism, but also in the spirit of self-interest, that developed nations should help the developing nations overcome their problems of globalization, weapons proliferation, urban poor, health, and environment. We in Myanmar have a saying that "Only when you help others can your own goals be achieved".

Yet, there is far more to the Economic Dimensions of Peace and Development than just development and environmental assistance programs alone. These programs are like medicine to a critically ill patient: if given in enough quantity and correctly used, they will cure the disease he is presently suffering from, but if the patient is still weak after he has taken the medicine, in a short while he will either relapse or fall ill to another disease. Thus in addition to development programs we will need two other things if we are to have Peace and Development. One is Investment. The other is Trade.

The days when the Government alone was the sole arbiter of a country's economic destiny are long gone, and it looks as if they will never return again. The role of the private sector is now dominant, and as such countries wishing to attract investment should remember that the operative verb is "attract". We cannot compel private investment: we can only persuade and explain. And we will have to remember that nothing is free in this world. If we wish to attract investment we will have to remember that the investor not only wants to make a profit but also to enjoy it — and so we will have to make sure that this indeed happens.

With trade, however, the role of Governments is much more explicit and effective. A country cannot be a part of a one-sided Globalization: if it is

to open its markets to goods from the developed world it is only fair to request that the developed world opens its own markets back to goods from the Developing World. Unfortunately, through subsidies arranged by the Developed World to its politically powerful farmers bloc, bizarre situations such as that in which a farmer in Africa discovers that European vegetables are cheaper in Africa than his own vegetables are not uncommon in today's economic world.

The Developed World must remember that something cannot be gained for nothing. If they wish the developing world to be so economically healthy and politically stable that there is no need for them to help politically, economically and militarily, then they in turn must sacrifice their pandering to their powerful domestic blocs that seek to block truly free trade.

## **Conclusion**

Many and varied are the threats to Peace and Development in today's world, but they all have one thing in common — they arise from multiple causes from multinational roots, and the solution to them lies also in multiple efforts from multinational partners. If we are to tackle the problems of arms proliferation, of urban poverty, health, the environment and trade imbalances and unfairness, we will need to do so on a multilateral basis. And the first step towards doing so begins at conferences such as this.

# 6

## *Military Threats to Peace and Development: The International Scenario*

*Ashok Parthasarathi*

*I*t is well known that the conflicting ideology and security based Cold War was the primary cause of the global arms race between the USA and its allies on the one hand the Soviet Union and its East European country allies on the other. Over the period 1950 to 1970 the nuclear arms race led to the building up of huge arsenals of strategic and tactical nuclear weapons in the two blocks and their deployment not only in the countries of the two blocks but also in their allied countries in many other parts of the world. As of 1986, the US and its allies had 24,400 strategic nuclear weapons for delivery by warheads and missiles, aircraft and submarines to deliver them inter-continently and the USSR and its allies had 45,000.

Around this time the USSR assessed that the twenty years of an intense and highly expensive arms race had placed a huge burden on its



economy in terms of resources of all kinds — skilled manpower, R&D and production complexes and material resources, and that the economy was showing signs of exhaustion. It, therefore, initiated a process of détente with the US and the flattening of the builds of its nuclear and conventional arsenals. As the USA was also feeling a similar pinch, though to a lesser extent, the two superpowers initiated a series of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALTs). These talks led to three sets of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks over the decade of the 1970's, early 1980's and corresponding agreements for reduction of strategic arsenals were concluded. However, the levels of strategic weapons both alliances had were still adequate to destroy the planet as a whole many times over.

The coming to power of Ronald Reagan as President of USA in 1980 however, led to a new escalation by the USA in the strategic arms race in the form of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) popularly known as the “Star Wars” programme. This programme was based on the idea in US military and political circles that it would be possible for the US to build a fool proof 'defensive shield' against Soviet strategic missiles using a number of new revolutionary technologies. The initiation of the SDI programme based on this premise caused extreme concern to peace loving people around the world because of the distinct possibility that it could lead to upsetting the tenuous 'balance of terror' or deterrence based on near strategic parity between the two superpowers on which peace had been maintained for almost thirty years. That such concerns had considerable substance was proven by the fact that a reluctant USSR also launched its own version of SDI for the defense at least of Moscow. Fortunately SDI in both countries did not make much progress because of technical feasibility considerations. Then, in 1991 an Agreement was concluded between Bush Senior and Gorbachev called the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START). This was the last such strategic arms control measure before the collapse of the USSR later in 1991, when the Cold War also came to an end as a consequence of such collapse. After the USSR returned to some degree of normalcy, although in a severely weakened state militarily and economically, Bush and Putin concluded a treaty in 2002 whereby both countries agreed that by end December 2012, the aggregate number of strategic nuclear warheads is not to exceed 1700-2200 from the levels of 10000 in the case of USA and 9000 in the case of the Russian Federation, that being the respective position when the Agreement was signed. However, this was hardly a disarmament measure as the Treaty allowed either country to withdraw from the Treaty on giving three months notice! That is where things stand today. But the US

in particular has not given up its policy of nuclear weapons as usable weapons in war. It also steadfastly holds to its doctrine of first use of such weapons. What is more, weapons laboratories are continuing to undertake R&D on developing new nuclear weapons such as the so-called “bunker-buster” bombs and improving the existing nuclear arsenals of the USA. Earlier this year even a second rank nuclear power like to UK undertook a number of tests in the US nuclear testing grounds in Nevada to test the readiness and effectiveness of its small nuclear arsenal.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of the USA consequently as the only super power — indeed it has been called by some a 'hyper-power' — US global policy in the nuclear realm shifted almost completely to preventing further “horizontal” spread of nuclear weapons i.e., to focus on so-called nuclear non proliferation. As a result of its efforts the main instrument for this purpose fashioned by the five nuclear weapon powers viz. the nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) originally promulgated in 1970 was at the 1995 Review Conference of the Treaty extended indefinitely. Soon thereafter the US initiated the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) primarily to restrain further development of nuclear weapons by China and to close the nuclear weapon programmes of Israel, India and Pakistan. However, not only did those three countries not agree to be part of that treaty but China has still not ratified the treaty and so is not bound by its provisions i.e. China could still undertake nuclear weapon tests on an open ended basis.

As far as we are concerned with an overt nuclear weapon power viz. China to our North and a clandestine weapon power viz. Pakistan to our West, the “all quiet” as regards nuclear weapons development and production at the global level by the US and the Russian Federation provided us with little comfort. Hence we had no option but to follow our peaceful nuclear explosion experiment of 1974 by the explicit Shakti weapon tests of 1998. That Pakistan would follow suit was only to be expected.

More recently, there have emerged the nuclear weapon programmes of North Korea and the suspected nuclear weapon programme of Iran both of which have involved substantial assistance by both China and Pakistan as China had assisted the Pakistani programme almost right from the programme's inception in the early 70's to its first stage completion in the late 80's.

Thus over the 60 years since the US dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, we have seen both vertical and horizontal proliferation on a

substantial scale, despite changes in the world order the most important of which was the collapse of the USSR which Putin has called “the biggest geopolitical disaster of the 20<sup>th</sup> century”. Nuclear weapons have come to stay and there is no mention at all anywhere in the world about global nuclear disarmament. The crusade for nuclear disarmament that Nehru so passionately argued and worked for with unprecedented commitment in the fifties and right up to his death sounds like a fairy tale. Even the people's movements in the UK and Europe in the 1960's for such disarmament have ceased to exist. Only an eerie silence prevails. Nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction such as biological and chemical weapons which are also horrible weapons have come to stay; they have become something that apparently the world can live with as the people of the globe carry on their daily lives “normally”.

### **So-called Conventional Weapons**

The scenario here is not much better — indeed in many respects much worse because these weapons can, have been and are continually being used causing monstrous casualties — not only of combatant military forces but much more so of civilians and massive destruction of cities, industries and urban infrastructure. The issue has to be dealt with at several levels. First, the situation in the part of the world in which the largest concentration of so-called conventional weapons had been deployed up till 1990 viz. Europe. Here, the collapse of the USSR and with it the Warsaw Pact has led to a sharp reduction in the deployment of conventional weapon equipped armies, air forces and navies. The central point of confrontation — Germany — has been unified. The countries of Eastern Europe have in varying degrees and forms given up communism and adopted democratic political institutions and market economies. Secondly, however, the number of countries both in Europe and Africa and Asia where conventional armies are deployed has grown both in number and scale of deployment. For instance, today the US has military bases in some 130 countries around the world, a position up from 110 in 1990. A long and bloody war led to the break up of Yugoslavia with conventional weapons having been the instruments of genocide and war crimes. So-called conventional weapons of ever increasing lethality have been the instruments of irredentist conflicts inside nation states from Chechenya in the Russian Federation to the Israel-Arab conflicts in West Asia, to those in Afghanistan and Sri Lanka and from as far back as 1989 from terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir and the North East in our own country. Moreover, unlike the situation during the Cold War when the war was a 'cold' one,



these have been and continue to be extremely 'hot' ones. Then there is the almost unique case of Iraq where the hyper power along with its "poodle" the UK has brazenly invaded and destroyed a great country in gross violation of international law and the resolutions of the Security Council of the UN causing a near destruction of the entire country and countless civilian casualties in its paranoid obsession for a self decided objective of "regime change". All these conflicts are fuelled by a gigantic 'bazaar' of conventional weapons on a global scale. The industrialized countries, who are the main sources of these weapons, often have vested interests in the continuation of these conflicts because they are lucrative markets for their weapons. The conflict areas also become testing grounds for new conventional weapons. Efforts have been made to stem these weapon flows through conventions such as those on Small Arms and Anti Personnel Mines but such conventions have been followed more in the breach. Meanwhile as already mentioned, the US has been developing ever more lethal "conventional" arms such as the 'block buster bomb', which has the same explosive and destructive power as that of a small nuclear bomb.

### **The US Monopoly of Power on a Global Scale**

Post World War II, the USA has always sought global primacy over the entire range of the national power spectrum: military, political, economic, industrial scientific and technological and cultural too. The Cold War it waged with the USSR covered all these aspects. The disintegration of the USSR — which Putin has called 'the biggest geopolitical disaster of the (20<sup>th</sup>) century' — was not only a realization of a long sought goal for the USA, but one for which it had worked hard and comprehensively right from the establishment of the USSR in 1917 — the temporary alliance with the USSR against Nazism during the Second World War notwithstanding. Therefore, after the collapse of the USSR, the USA adopted the basics of the very diplomatic style and political, military and security policies which had served it so well: of enforcing its will around the globe either singly or by causing or forcing into existence a so-called 'coalition' of countries consisting, most often, of its military allies in NATO and the erstwhile CENTO and SEATO, but after 1990, including some of the erstwhile East European countries as well. In such a unique position of primacy, never experienced by mankind, the three great anxieties of the USA were: First, its own security not just in its own territory and for its own people but in every nook and corner of the globe; second, the nuclear and missile capability — real or potential — of any country other than the five 'accepted' nuclear weapon powers (the P-5), and thirdly, 'democratizing' nations in the



developing world that would not accept its primacy or the premise in regard to the nuclear and ballistic missile monopoly of the P-5. Libya, Iran and North Korea fell in the latter category while Iraq and Afghanistan fell in the former. We have all seen how, over the last fifteen years, the US has dealt with, and is battling and struggling even today, to deal with those countries. The rationale for the former is the pernicious concept of “Regime Change” and for the latter, the designation of the countries involved as “Rogue States”.

This whole approach of the USA is heavily compounded and exacerbated by the fact that the nations falling in both categories (except for North Korea) are all Islamic states and are all opposed to the continued existence of the closest ally of the USA viz. Israel. They are also the ones, which have launched an Islamic jihad against the so-called “Christian”, and “Hindu” states. In some sense the US is reaping its own whirlwind at least in Afghanistan where it and Pakistan had themselves created the Taliban to fight the USSR in the 1980's and in Iraq where it had provided massive military assistance to the same Saddam Hussein in the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980's. However, the invasion of Iraq in 2003 by the so-called US-led 'coalition of the willing' in total violation of UN resolutions and international law on the specious arguments that Saddam's regime was part of the global terrorist organization of Al-Qaeda and that it was threatening the West and Israel with its Weapons of Mass Destruction, has been a major assault on international peace and development. After the so-called end of that assault with the fall and capture of Saddam large military forces of the US and its principal ally in the whole adventure — the UK — remain mired in a continuing insurgency with Iraqi guerillas of both the Sunni and Shia sects combined at the same time with a fratricidal war between the two sects themselves, with no end to either in sight. All that the dastardly US-UK invasion of Iraq has achieved is to destroy one of the most educated, cultured and developed nations of the Arab world and cause the death and maiming of unforgivable numbers of innocent civilians. It is one of the greatest tragedies of all time. The situation is somewhat similar in Afghanistan. As for the puppet 'democratic' regimes that the USA-UK duo have created and continue to prop up, in both Iraq and Afghanistan, the less said for their credibility with their peoples, the better.

### **Pakistan-Fomented and Promoted Terrorism in J&K**

As is well known, while the bombings of Nairobi and Mombassa in 1993 were perhaps the first case of Al-Qaeda organized global terrorist acts followed by the attack on the Twin Towers in New York in 2001, we in this

country have been battling major and sustained attacks, initially in Jammu and Kashmir and in recent years in other parts of the country as well, by terrorists promoted, organized, trained, armed and financed by Pakistan since as far back as 1989, again causing untold deaths of innocent civilians. Yet, in this case the US has done little to pressurize Pakistan over which it has tremendous leverage — irrespective of the nature of the regime in Pakistan — to bring such cross border terrorism to a halt. Is it unfair or fanciful for us to conclude from this that the US would like cross border terrorism by Pakistan in our country to continue to keep our government “tied down” in an endless and bloody war. Why has the US not designated Pakistan a “Rogue State”, when it has also undertaken on a massive scale the other activity viz. nuclear weapon proliferation through A Q Khan's “nuclear arms bazaar” to all the other three “rogue states” named earlier, of which the US has full and detailed information from its intelligence agencies.

### **Chinese Nuclear Weapons and Proliferation to Pakistan, Iran and North Korea**

A major threat to peace in West, South and North East Asia has been China's massive and sustained technical and industrial assistance to Pakistan, Iran and North Korea in the areas of nuclear weapons, conventional weapons and ballistic missiles.

The Chinese assistance to the Pakistani nuclear weapons programme started in 1972 can be traced at least to as far back as 1976 when it started by training Pakistani nuclear weapon scientists and engineers. It then extended to the Chinese providing Pakistan with the technology to produce uranium hexafluoride gas which Pakistan fed into its cascade of centrifuges set up using the technology stolen by A.Q. Khan from Almeto in Holland to produce highly enriched weapon grade uranium. China then provided not only the complete design but also detailed drawings for the production of nuclear bombs, and also provided the services of Chinese specialists to enable Pakistan to use those drawings to make its first few bombs. In 1983, Pakistan detonated its first atomic bomb of around 20-kiloton capacity at the Chinese nuclear weapon test site of Lop Nor in inner Mongolia. What was more, to mask that test, it was synchronized to be exploded simultaneously with a much larger megaton sized Chinese bomb. With further Chinese assistance, Pakistan was able to fully weaponise itself by 1987. Pakistan for its part provided China with the full design and detailed manufacturing designs and technical assistance for the setting up of China's first uranium enrichment plant for producing weapons grade

uranium using Pakistan's stolen uranium centrifuge technology. Subsequently, China set up a second plant using the same technology on its own. Furthermore, Chinese assistance to Pakistan's nuclear weapon programme continues, covering improvements in the yield-to-weight ratios of its weapons and their miniaturization to make Pakistan's bomb capable of being carried on missiles as their warheads etc. China also provided Pakistan with the technology to set up a nuclear reactor to produce weapon grade plutonium at a site in Pakistan called Kushab, to make plutonium based atomic bombs and to again test and prove them in China. China also provided the heavy water for the Kushab reactor. In parallel, China set up an allegedly civilian power reactor of 300 MW capacity at Chashma in Pakistan. Although the Chashma reactor is supposed to be under international safeguards, the government has information that China assisted Pakistan in transferring some of the Chashma technology and spares to Kushab, thereby violating its safeguards agreement with the IAEA. As a result of furious production of both enriched uranium and plutonium and converting them into operationally usable weapons, Pakistan is estimated to now have a weapon stockpile of around 50 bombs and a capacity to produce three bombs a year. It has also used that inventory to arm a number of its missile warheads and to arm its F-16 fighter-bombers supplied by the USA with deliverable nuclear weapons.

To come now to the ballistic missile programme of Pakistan, here the Chinese supply-cum-technology transfer-cum-setting up of missile manufacturing plants in Pakistan has been near total, with the rest being similarly done by North Korea to whom China "introduced" Pakistan. The direct Chinese assistance has taken two forms. One, the supply of M-11 missiles of 300 km range, about the same number of M-9 missiles of 100 km range and an undisclosed number of 1500 km range M-18 missiles. All these missiles are capable of carrying nuclear warheads which China has assisted Pakistan to make. All these missiles are now operational with the Pakistani military. As if this was not enough, China has set up on a turnkey basis a complete plant in Pakistan for the manufacture of at least the M-11 and M-9 missiles.

But that is not all. Coming under increased heat from the US and the international community to stop its missile proliferation to Pakistan, and to try and prevent its global image as the world's greatest nuclear and missile proliferators, China introduced Pakistan to North Korea several years ago. Those two countries have over the last almost one decade collaborated massively in the areas of both nuclear weapon and missiles



technology. The 'deal' was that Pakistan would supply its nuclear weapon technology to the North Koreans and the latter would in return do likewise in regard to ballistic missiles, most of which were however directly of Chinese origin in earlier times. Thus North Korea has transferred complete Nowdong medium range missiles to Pakistan and also kits of parts of those missiles and trained Pakistan to assemble and test them. The Chinese then came in and taught the Pakistanis how to design, develop, produce and fit appropriate nuclear warheads on the Nowdong. The Government of India not only has full information on all this, but on one occasion even captured an allegedly civilian commercial cargo vessel of North Korea near Mumbai, which when towed ashore and "emptied out" revealed a large number of kits of parts of the Nowdong missile — Destination? Karachi.

Then there is the assistance to the Pakistan Air Force. This has taken the form not only of supplying almost 400 Chinese F-7 fighter-bombers — which are much-improved versions of our Mig-21s — but also the setting up by the Chinese in Pakistan of total overhaul facilities for these aircraft. The most recent supplies of brand new F-7 aircraft were three squadrons (around 45-50 aircrafts) about the time of the outbreak of the Kargil war in 1999. (It may be added here that during that war a number of Chinese military specialists were also in Pakistan providing military assistance and even being involved in providing back stopping support to the conduct of the war by the Pakistani side). But to return the F-7 supplies of the standard F-7 apart, for over five years now the two countries have been jointly undertaking the design and development of a vastly improved version of the F-7 called the "Super Seven" at Chengdu in Szechuan province in Western China. The new plane's first prototype undertook its first flight trials earlier this year.

To come to the Navy, China has supplied several frigates and even one or two destroyers to Pakistan. More seriously, a joint team has been building a huge naval base in Gwadar on the Arabian coast of Pakistan not far from the Iranian border. Provision has been specifically made in the design and facility provisions of the base to enable Chinese naval surface vessels and submarines to be based and even to be repaired there. This gives China superb access to the whole of the Arabian Sea and even to come to the aid of Pakistan in any naval war with us.

Chinese technical and industrial assistance to the Pakistani army also has been extensive, in particular in the development and production of the Khalid Main Battle Tank. Supplies of army related hardware of many kinds continues apace all the time.



But China's actions inimical to us are not confined to its total collaboration with and assistance to Pakistan's military machine and intelligence apparatus. Nor has it been active only in relation to the Arabian Sea. It has also entered into broad based military cooperation with Myanmar (Burma) to our east. It has not only made large supplies of a whole range of conventional weapons to the Myanmar military, but has set up a string of naval bases on the Myanmar coast. China has also obtained a long term lease from the Myanmar government to use Cocos island, an island barely 100 km from the northern tip of the Andaman Islands, and converted it into an electronic eavesdropping and intelligence gathering post and built a missile tracking radar on the island station directed at us. From Cocos, China collects invaluable data on all our missile tests from the Interim Test Range of the Defense R&D Organization at Chandipur on the Orissa coast and of the launches of the satellite launch vehicle of the Indian Space Research Organization from the large launch station on Sriharikota Island off the Andhra coast.

But the *coup de grace* perhaps is that there are nearly two hundred Chinese medium range and intermediate range missiles and several hundred military aircraft located in a string of bases in Tibet targeted at our cities and major military installations and formations.

When our government confronts the Chinese with all this information, the Chinese government blandly denies them! They even deny the high resolution pictures taken by our satellites of all these installations in Tibet, Gwadar, Cocos and Myanmar when these pictures are shown to them.

### **Global and Regional Terrorism**

Another major threat to world peace and development — indeed the most major one today — is the emergence and world wide diffusion of terrorism and terrorist organizations. These except for those in West Asia (Hammas and Hezbollah), in Afghanistan (the Taliban) and the Pakistan promoted terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir are largely a post 1990 phenomenon. But starting with the Nairobi and Mombassa bombings of 1993, they have become a global phenomenon. Since the emergence of the Al-Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden and the 9/11 atrocity in New York's Twin Towers, we have seen a rapid spread of terrorism world wide — Mumbai, Bali, London, Tokyo. They have taken heavy tolls of innocent civilians. The word *jihad* has become a household one across the globe. Major international collaboration among affected and potentially vulnerable

countries in intelligence gathering and sharing and the expenditure of huge sums of money on preventive and protective measures by governments world wide has now become the order of the day — money that would otherwise be used for development where developing countries are the targets and sufferers. I shall not say more on this issue as it has, and continues to be, widely and continuously covered by the media as well as scholarly studies.

**SECTION II**  
*Problems of Peace and Development  
in SAARC Region*





# 7

## *Problems of Peace and Development in SAARC Region: The Indo-Pak Relationship*

*Najmuddin A. Shaikh*

*I*would like to start by thanking Mr. Malhotra for having put together such a brilliant galaxy of participants for a beautifully organized conference. This was only to be expected from Mr. Malhotra and his team. Every time I have been here and that has been quite often the level of organization and the level of hospitality has shown an upward trend with the high level of discussion in the working sessions designed to satisfy the intellect being followed by even more serious attention being paid to the more earthly gastronomic and other needs of the palate in the evening.

The discussion yesterday was lively and interesting. The inaugural address of Mr. I.K. Gujral provided plenty of food for thought. I can well believe as Mr. Gujral said to Mr. Malhotra that the address represented a whole month of labour. Much of the address showed the hard work and intellectual deliberation that went into its composition. It would have been

a pleasure to have heard him deliver the speech himself and perhaps to expand on some of the themes. If later in my own presentation I do pick a niggling point with him it is only because I believe that he would have wanted the contradiction between what I found difficult and what he himself says later to be highlighted and clarified.

The discussion yesterday contrary to expectations turned out to be quite lively even though it started after a rather sumptuous lunch which Rashpal-ji quite unfairly termed "austere". There were a few issues on which I had wanted to offer comments but I thought that in the interest of allowing the chairman, a stickler for punctuality, the opportunity to finish the session on time. I would reserve them and include them in the presentation on the SAARC where they would be more appropriate in any case.

If these preliminary remarks suggest that what I have to say is going to be somewhat out of tune with the discussion so far I can only assure you that my intent is not to take issue necessarily with what has been said so far but to try and present from a Pakistani perspective and from the perspective of a long time advocate of greater cooperation for ensuring peace and development in SAARC what the current situation is, where the problems lie and what to my mind is the best way forward. It is in that sense highly personalised but I hope it is an objective appeal to reason rather than being blindly or even selectively chauvinistic.

Let me add another caveat, I should really be dealing in this presentation with SAARC as a whole, which now includes Afghanistan, but I intend confining it to the Indo-Pak relationship. This, I think, you will agree is the single most important determinant of the direction that SAARC will take and of the success that it can achieve in ensuring the welfare and well being of the people of the region.

What is the best starting point for an examination of the Indo-Pak relationship? To my mind it is perhaps the path breaking Indo-Pak joint statement made on April 18<sup>th</sup> last year in New Delhi, "Conscious of the historic opportunity created by the improved environment in relations and the overwhelming desire of the people of the two countries for durable peace and recognizing their responsibility to continue to move forward towards that objective, the two leaders (Musharraf and Manmohan Singh) had substantive talks on all issues,"... "They determined that the peace process was now irreversible. "

A second starting point perhaps is the Pakistani sense of insecurity and the suspicion that people in India have not reconciled themselves to the vivisection of "Mother India" and the extent to which this has been

tempered by the acquisition of demonstrated nuclear capability and the reassuring statement of the former Prime Minister and former Jan Sangh leader Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

A third starting point could perhaps be the terrorist incidents in India and the inclination in India to believe that somehow the Pakistan Government was behind these incidents and that its professions of wanting to resolve disputes with India and to normalise relations were therefore insincere or alternatively that the Pakistan Government was using the terrorist tool to bend India to its will in the ongoing negotiations.

Taking the first starting point, It appeared in the 18<sup>th</sup> April statement and Musharraf's subsequent press conference that there was a genuine and growing understanding between the Pakistani President and the Indian Prime Minister and that this understanding encompassed an appreciation of each other's domestic constraints. President Musharraf's statement accepting the Indian contention that one parameter for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute had to be that India could not accept any redrawing of boundaries reflected this appreciation of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's domestic limitations.

Similarly, the President's insistence, presumably tacitly endorsed by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, that Pakistan could not accept the LoC as the international border, reflected the domestic limitations of Pakistan's leaders. His proposed solution, to make "boundaries irrelevant" was essentially an application to Kashmir of what the Indians had long been espousing — a blurring of physical boundaries as one of the ways that South Asia could meet the challenges posed by globalization.

It seemed to imply that both sides were prepared to embark on the consultations with the Kashmiris on the difficult, long and even tortuous, bilateral or trilateral negotiations needed to bring to fruition a solution that made "boundaries irrelevant", encompassed the demilitarization of Kashmir, allowed maximum self-government and autonomy in defined regions and the retention or restoration of the overall sense of *Kashmiriyat* by which the Kashmiris theoretically lay so much store.

Therefore, when the statement echoing a sentiment expressed earlier by President Musharraf spoke of the peace process being "irreversible", it carried with it a degree of conviction that had been conspicuous by its absence in earlier exchanges of this nature. Implicit, however, was the fact that along the way to the solution of the "core issue" other relatively minor issues would be resolved and that in the negotiations there would be on both sides, but primarily on the Indian side, the same

realism and generosity of spirit that was reflected in the Musharraf's statement on the Kashmir issue.

At that time we had no military incidents between the two sides for more than 15 months. The political will needed had been displayed to permit the conclusion of a sensible agreement on the modalities for the commencement of the Srinagar-Muzzafarabad bus service despite the opposition of naysayers.

We have had advances in people to people exchanges. The number of visas granted on both sides has expanded exponentially, trade despite Indian complaints about Pakistan not granting most favoured nation status to India has gone up during the last year by 76 per cent and is heavily tilted in India's favour. Agreement on the reopening of Consulates in Karachi and Mumbai has been reached but the actual opening has been delayed because the space the Pakistanis had leased in Mumbai could not be used in the face of opposition local residents. Many in Pakistan feel that the Indian government should have anticipated this while many in India feel that the Pakistanis should have done their homework more thoroughly before selecting the site they did.

On the Indus Basin Waters Treaty there is no gainsaying the fact that with India being the upper riparian, it has the theoretical possibility of interfering with Pakistan's lifeline — the waters of the Indus river and its tributaries but this possibility has been to my mind more theoretical than real. The dispute over the barrages that India wishes to erect on the rivers of the Indus Basin or the other uses to which it wishes to put the waters of these rivers have not been resolved but they have been referred as required under the Indus Basin Treaty to international arbitration allaying the fear often entertained in Pakistan and fuelled by indiscreet statements in India that India was preparing to renounce the treaty and to take unfair advantage of its position as the upper riparian to deprive Pakistan of the share of water to which it was legally entitled.

The advances made in trade and people to people exchanges are good. They are advantageous for both countries and both peoples but it should come as no surprise to this audience that in Pakistan they are seen as being part of the Indian Agenda. On issues of interest to Pakistan, including first and foremost Kashmir, there has been no discernible progress. On Security agreement has been reached on pre-notification of missile tests and while this was welcome it was seen in Pakistan as no more than a formalisation of the informal notification procedure that was already in place. There was no movement on Pakistani proposals for a balanced



reduction of forces or on other measures designed to reduce the risk of inadvertent war and wasteful defence expenditure.

Scepticism is therefore beginning to grow particularly when no progress is registered even on such matters as Siachen and Sir Creek where it was felt that earlier agreements had been set aside only because the overall atmosphere had deteriorated.

I feel particularly concerned about Siachen. In Siachen, — as the extensive media coverage has shown, — the Pakistanis want the implementation of the agreement reached in 1989 for an unconditional withdrawal of troops on both sides to the pre-1984 positions (1984 was the year in which an Indian Army general launched "Operation Meghdoot" to occupy heights in the Siachen Glacier area traditionally recognized as being on Pakistan's side of the LoC). This 1989 agreement, had sidestepped the question of where the LoC actually lay in the glacial region — the Indians argued that from point NJ 9842 the Karachi agreement of 1949 called for the then Ceasefire Line to proceed due North while the Pakistanis argued that North was the direction in which the line as it came up to NJ 9842 was to be extended. In 1989 the political leaders of the day — Rajiv Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto — appeared to have been in agreement that reckless adventurism to occupy valueless land had unnecessarily created a new point of friction, and while it would be politically impossible for India to reverse its stance on the interpretation of the 1949 agreement, they could agree to eliminate the wasteful expenditure incurred by both sides on maintaining troops in a region where more soldiers died of exposure than were killed in military action. The agreement was not formally signed, it is said, because Rajiv was persuaded that such an agreement would impinge adversely on his party's prospects in the elections he had called for later in the year.

In the current negotiations the Indians have insisted that before such withdrawal, both sides should authenticate on maps the positions currently being held by both sides. Surprisingly, last year, the Indian Army chief of staff proposed on the very day that the Siachen negotiations were to commence that India and Pakistan should authenticate the LoC in the Siachen region (i.e. the entire 100 km length that the line would run from point NJ 9842) to "ensure that there are no complications after demilitarization". This proposal is of course even more contentious than the authenticating of currently held positions because it would require the reconciling of the clearly irreconcilable interpretations of the Karachi Agreement.

The official Indian position is said to reflect the same distrust and suspicion that have dogged Indo-Pak relations and have frustrated sensible compromises in the past. It seems senseless since it is accepted on both sides that the area in question is of no strategic value and the mind boggles at the thought that Pakistan's military would incur the enormous expenditure that would be involved in trying to reverse the demilitarization of the region against a better resourced Indian adversary. It is perverse since, at this time it is in India's interest to show that it is prepared to regard the 18<sup>th</sup> April statement as representing a "fresh start" in which old preconceived notions about the unreliability of Pakistan would be set aside. This is, in fact, from India's perspective, a golden opportunity for India to suggest that it was moving towards building trust and confidence between the two countries while cutting down on the enormous expenditure deployment in Siachen involves. (For many years the Pakistani military argued against a demilitarization of Siachen pointing out that because of the comparatively easier logistic situation on the Pakistan side the deployments were far more expensive for India than for Pakistan. It cost Pakistan only Rs. 100 to provide a *chappati* to its jawan in Siachen while the Indians had to spend Rs. 500 for the same *chappati*).

A perverse Indian attitude and the forsaking of an opportunity however makes a degree of sense if the Indian intent is what the Indian Chief of Army staff has, in effect, said and that is that the talks should be used to force Pakistan to accept the Indian interpretation of the Karachi Agreement and to have an LoC defined along the lines India wants in anticipation of whatever settlement is reached on Kashmir.

If this is the intent it reflects short-sighted thinking. At the moment the Indian position should be that as the two sides work towards a "borderless" solution in Kashmir no contentious issues relating to the border should be raised and wherever possible the prospects of eyeball to eyeball confrontations should be reduced particularly when such confrontation involves heavy expenditure in men and material.

It is such solutions that will lend substance to the assertion — as quoted by the BBC — by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in his press conference with foreign correspondents in New Delhi on Monday 31<sup>st</sup> May 2005 that "We [India and Pakistan] share a number of similarities and should work together at finding a solution which makes borders meaningless and irrelevant. So it should not matter whether a person is living in Srinagar or Muzzafarabad".

Latest press reports suggest that the Pakistan Foreign Minister thinks that there has been some progress on this matter in private

discussions and that he expected without revealing details that an agreement could be reached. Let us hope that his expectation is realised.

In the matter of the Sir Creek again India's position that the land border must be taken as the middle of the Creek waterway, is a perverse interpretation of the Thalweg principle in International Law. This principle calls for the designation of the middle of the waterway as the border between two countries that share a waterway as a border but— and this is important—is applicable only when the waterway in question is navigable. The pragmatic consideration behind the acceptance of this principle was that both countries should be able to use the waterway for shipping etc. In the Sir Creek this question does not arise since the Creek is not navigable. If the maps agreed upon in 1914 and showing the border between Sind and Gujarat being along the eastern bank of the Creek then that is how it should be demarcated.

The problem in Sir Creek is not so much the land border but the impact that the demarcation of the land border will have on the defining of the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) when the land border is extended out into the sea for the 200 miles that each country is given under the Law of the Sea Convention, as the zone in which it has proprietary rights to all fishing and mineral resources. I am not sure of how much area would be involved though one press report suggests that if India accepts the Pakistan position it would lose some 250 sq. Kms of its EEZ. Rumours abound that in this disputed EEZ or its immediate vicinity lie enormous gas and oil resources. These rumours have a certain plausibility because of the area's proximity to the rich gas finds in Bombay High but so far there is nothing definitive known. This should however be irrelevant. If Pakistan and India are building trust and confidence they must start with the promise that where old agreements exist they shall be honoured.

It is hardly in keeping with the Indian stance of seeking bilateral resolution of problems to suggest, as has apparently been done, that a solution of the maritime boundary may be found through the intervention of the Law of the Sea Conference Secretariat which under the convention has the authority to demarcate maritime boundaries according to certain principles in all cases where these boundaries have not been demarcated by the countries concerned by a certain date.

Another exercise is now underway to determine through a joint survey exactly where the creek's location was in 1914 and where it is now. Let us hope that this brings us closer to a solution.

On Kashmir again I believe, and this belief is shared by many Indians that in outlining the three parameters within which a solution has to



be found, President Musharraf has moved well beyond Pakistan's earlier position of insisting that the only solution was to hold a plebiscite as called for in the UN resolutions. Now it appears from press reports that some written proposals have been exchanged by the two sides and if one is interpreting correctly the joint statement issued in Havana, there are some elements of these proposals on which there is convergence while on others there remain areas of divergence. If this is genuinely so, it is welcome progress. If nothing further is said about such progress in public that is how I believe, it should be. Sensitive negotiations are best conducted even in this day and age away from the glare of publicity. But it is important that the anxieties of the Kashmiris are allayed and it is important that their representatives find acceptable the direction in which negotiations are moving.

I turn now to the second starting point, Pakistan's sense of insecurity and the degree to which it has been allayed. There is no doubt that there was a genuine fear, particularly, after the creation of Bangladesh that India would seek Pakistan's further dismemberment or absorption into India. This was apparent from the enormous publicity Prime Minister Vajpayee got when he visited the Pakistan Minar in Lahore and recorded comments about Indian recognition of Pakistan. I did not think personally that the Vajpayee gesture should have been seen as anything more than a continuation of the effort to put Indo-Pak relations on an even keel. I was told however by senior Indian contemporaries that Vajpayee was made to pay a heavy price by his supporters for his gesture. The difficulty in which Advani found himself after his praise of the Quaid-e-Azam during a visit to Karachi confirmed that this was no exaggeration and provided fresh pretexts for those in Pakistan who maintain that Indians have never really accepted Pakistan's independent existence. I don't think this is important. I believe that this sort of view is held by a small if vocal minority in India. It is, however, painful when this view appears to be part of Mr. Gujral's inaugural address when he asks if the dynamic that led to the reversal of the partition of Germany would not also unfold in the Subcontinent. Perhaps this is not what he meant because in immediate juxtaposition in his inaugural address is the mention of the Gujral Doctrine, which if memory serves me correctly called not only for open borders but for India, as the larger country, to make concessions in its relations with its smaller neighbours. It certainly did not call for the undoing of partition.

A sense of security has been engendered in Pakistan by the acquisition of a minimum nuclear deterrent. Were the value of the deterrent



to be called into question by the Indian acquisition of ABM weapon systems Pakistan would have no choice but to expend its limited resources on further strengthening its deterrent. As the example of the Soviet Union and the United States has shown once the two countries step on top this slippery slope there will be no stopping. The US and the Soviet Union spent \$5.5 trillion on building and maintaining their nuclear arsenals. More importantly they built powerful lobbies within the country. As a result the United States is budgeting for research on new nuclear weapons. It has wasted more than \$70 billion on the quest for a missile defence system, which the United States needs as much as it needs a hole in the head. All it has to show for it is the so-called deployment of a system that, according to experts, cannot possibly tackle the nonexistent threat that it is deployed against.

So do we want to step on to this path? Or should we be sagacious enough to agree on a restraint regime in both the conventional and nuclear field that addresses the differing security concerns of the two countries but without exaggerating the threat? The answer is obvious. Pakistan has proposed a restraint regime. Clearly it is of greater benefit to Pakistan, which has a much smaller resource base. But no one should doubt that it is of benefit also to India. If we are not playing "beggar thy neighbour" the Pakistan proposal deserves serious consideration and substantive discussion.

Let me at this point also talk of the so-called assistance China has offered to Pakistan and to which reference was made by Mr. Parthasarthi yesterday. In the subsequent discussion Mr. Parthasarthi conceded that every country's nuclear programme had assistance from outside sources. This included the Russians etc. but it is important nevertheless to address the details. To maintain that the Chashma Civilian nuclear power reactor which is under IAEA safeguards is a cover for providing assistance for the Khushab nuclear power reactor and the plant for producing plutonium is just wrong. It is in nobody's interest to try and create the impression that the Pakistanis are incapable of doing anything on their own and need to be spoon-fed by the Chinese who have their own nefarious designs just as it is in no one's interest to suggest that India's nuclear, space and missile programmes are all the result of the know how and equipment they received from the Russians or copied from the Americans and who have connived at it with their own nefarious designs in mind. We have learnt just as you have to develop our own technologies or to be able to copy what others have done. I am no expert but I do know that by the time Pakistan's

deal for the purchase of the reprocessing plant from France fell through many Pakistani scientists had been trained in France and had learnt exactly how a reprocessing plant which is what one needs to produce plutonium was to be built. Pakistan has not unlike India diverted spent fuel from a Canadian reactor charged with American fuel to manufacture its first lot of plutonium.

Let me relate to you an interesting story, which would be grist to the propaganda mills that churn out such stories. A high American official told me that after the 1974 Pokhran nuclear test Mrs. Gandhi was bracing herself for a particularly difficult meeting with Dr. Kissinger. She was pleasantly surprised when instead of the reprimands and threats that she was expecting Dr. Kissinger said that what had happened had happened and now the issue was how to prevent further problems from arising. According to this source, from then until the 1978 Non-Proliferation Act was adopted by the American Congress, Indian scientists not only had access to fuel for Tarapur but also sensitive technology from America's nuclear establishment. True or untrue? For me the source was impeccable. I don't know, what the satellite pictures show about Gwadar but there is nothing secret about the civilian port that is being constructed there or the fact that financial assistance was provided by the Chinese for this project and that Chinese companies are involved in the construction. What is not true is that the port has any military dimension. I am no expert, but is there any evidence to suggest that the berths being constructed there are designed for military and not civilian vessels. Is there a difference between the two?

What purpose do such unsubstantiated allegations serve beyond vitiating the atmosphere? Let me go one step further and say that if India believes that Pakistan is acquiring either through its own efforts or on a silver platter from foreign collaborators new weapon systems and these are seen to be in excess of Pakistan's legitimate defence requirements does it not strengthen the case for negotiating a restraint regime that will prevent militarisation of South Asia? Let me turn to the next starting point which is the Indian contention that the Pakistan government is behind all the Terrorist incidents that have happened in India. What should one say on this subject? First it was maintained that all infiltration across the LoC happened under the cover of an artillery barrage what the Pakistani Army laid down and which caused Indian troops to hunker down in their bunkers. It was also said that the fighting on the LoC prevented India from constructing the security fence it wished to erect along this line to prevent

infiltration. Surely now that there has been no artillery fire along the LoC for the last 34 months and the security fence with sophisticated sensors has been completed there would be no harm in stating that Indian efforts to check infiltration have succeeded and that the remaining problem is from the indigenous sources whose large presence was acknowledged when the ceasefire with the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen was being negotiated in August 2000. Surely there can also be acknowledgement that Pakistan itself has to contend with terrorists, many of whom may come from the same groups that try and create terrorist incidents in India. Surely there can be a recognition that those who point a finger at Pakistan and create hiccups or more in the peace process are playing into the hands of those very forces which are inimical to both India and Pakistan and which want the peace process halted and reversed. Yes, there should be more talks as part of the peace process on how to combat the menace of terrorism. There should be a mechanism set up for this purpose but the acceptance but this should not be portrayed as a successful effort to put Pakistan on the "spot".

The blame game serves no one's interests. Let there be recognition that the groups which are making things difficult for India and for Pakistan can justify it, because they claim that nothing is emerging from the peace process that is to Pakistan's advantage. Rather, they say, the process is being used to further Indian and only Indian objectives. As I have said earlier, I don't believe this is the case but at the same time there is no denying that fact that such a perception exists and it works to the disadvantage of those who have been and continue to be advocates of normalising Indo-Pak relations and who need to be able to produce evidence that genuine advances are being made in the talks on all issues and not only on those that are seen to be in India's interest. There is much more I wanted to say with regard to the advantages of cooperation but time is a constraint. Let me just say that if Pakistan is to take advantage of its "strategic location" it must open its road and rail network for India's trade with Central Asia, Iran and points beyond. Most importantly, South Asia's energy needs can only be economically met if this route is open. If synergy is to be achieved in SAARC there must be unstinting cooperation and that can only come when contentious issues have ceased to pollute the atmosphere.

Let me conclude Mr. Chairman, by recalling the words of an American expert on South Asia. She said that, "India and Pakistan are both masters of the defensive game and could go on for years in talks characterized by more activity than movement". The Pakistanis and Indians

are not alone in having mastered the diplomatic technique of many meetings and no progress. The Americans spent many months arguing with the Vietnamese during their prolonged negotiations on the size and shape of the table at which the negotiations would be conducted. It is a useful tool when the governing principle is to test the endurance of the opponent. It would be a pity however if this cynical observation were to be borne out in the Indo-Pak context where the purpose is to put behind us the prospect of conflict and to give durability to the peaceful situation that prevails on the ground and where the window of opportunity is not going to remain open indefinitely.



# 8

## *Engaging the Taliban*

*Talat Masood*

*P*resident Musharraf has described Taliban as now the greatest threat to the region, even greater than Al-Qaeda. To Americans they are a sworn enemy that gave and continues to give protection and sanctuary to Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda operatives — America's worst enemies. United States is fiercely engaged with them militarily since 9/11. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces, operating for the first time outside Europe, are now fighting them along with the newly trained Afghan army with little success. Indians are getting nervous as Talibans make their resurgence and find their aspirations thwarted and their investments in Afghanistan at risk. The Chinese and Russians are not saying much in public but dread the advance of Taliban lest this movement links up with separatist movements in Sinkiang and in Russian Dagestan and Chechnya. It is however possible that both Beijing and Moscow are pleased that American power is being dissipated in fighting an open-ended war with them. Central Asian States

consider the resurgence dangerous and destabilizing for their regimes. Arabs too, for that matter, the entire Muslim countries, loathe them and find their world view and interpretation of Islam despicable. Iran in particular considers them a disgrace to Islam and an enemy of Shiaism, although for political expediency they may find some utility in them for distracting America while its confrontation with the super power continues. Pakistan's moderates consider them as an anti-thesis of Qaid's vision of Pakistan.

How is it that despite these heavy odds Taliban operating as an entity outside the state structure, in fact in confrontation with it, and with only divided support from Afghans, essentially from the Pashtun community, are standing up to the onslaught of the super power and multinational NATO forces, which undoubtedly are the most powerful and technologically advanced military? Not only are they putting up a fierce resistance but in many areas have reestablished their hold on Afghanistan and rapidly spreading their influence in Pakistan's tribal belt and adjoining areas. The reason for Taliban success is that they enjoy grass root support in South and South Eastern provinces of Afghanistan and find resonance in Pakistan's tribal belt and beyond. Also for no better alternative Afghans are falling back on Taliban. Poor governance, harassment by warlords, drug traffickers, corrupt bureaucrats and collateral damage caused by US air and ground strikes, has led to wide disillusionment among Afghans. Afghans detest any intrusion of their privacy and shooting of civilians on streets and check points has further angered the population against the Americans. Heavy reliance on air power by US results in innocent civilians being caught in cross-fire. There is huge political fallout of the civilian deaths on President Karzai. There is hardly any development activity in South and Southeast of Afghanistan due to poor security situation and a growing feeling that despite the presence of foreign forces state structures are either non-existent or totally ineffective.

Rise of Taliban in Afghanistan and parts of Pakistan is more of a phenomenon than a movement. Their resurgence is indicative of a failing state because people would then fall back on extremist religious and nationalist groups to provide them security and livelihood, even if it means foregoing their basic rights. Moreover, there are other factors which have contributed to their resurgence. Taliban enjoy wide sympathy among the local population, whereas Karzai and his government are considered as American puppets, notwithstanding that he came through an electoral process. Similar perception is held about President Musharraf that he is advancing American interests. Ordinary people in Afghanistan and Pakistan's tribal belt and North West Frontier Province (NWFP) find it easy to relate and co-exist with Taliban, as compared to those who are perceived

to be foreign agents. Strong anti-Americanism in the region is also a contributory factor for Taliban revival. United States' unjustified intervention in Iraq has also mobilized Pashtun sentiment against Americans in Afghanistan and also distracted US from remaining focused on it.

President Musharraf, realizing that the policy of military confrontation with Taliban was going nowhere, decided to have a peace agreement with the tribes of North Waziristan and engage the Maliks and militants in dialogue. In the prevailing circumstances this was perhaps a wise move, for after all Jirgas have always been the classic approach to resolving disputes in that part of the world. Moreover, peace agreement has saved lives of Pakistani soldiers, militants and especially innocent civilians who were getting caught up in the crossfire. In any case, a strategy to fight the war where there are no clear battle lines between civilians and the military is not an easy task. But there is a flip side to this deal as well, for many questions still remain unanswered. Firstly, whose writ would eventually prevail in North and South Waziristan — government or of the Taliban? Already there are reports that the militants have established a parallel administration and are even imposing taxes and their influence is expanding even in adjoining districts of the tribal belt. NATO and Afghanistan are complaining of increase in insurgency due to cross border infiltration, although they could be merely scapegoating their failures on Pakistan. In fact, ever since the Afghan *Jihad* the Durand line has become irrelevant and now with Taliban on both sides of the border it is becoming difficult for the authorities to control cross border movement. Moreover, JUI — the Islamic oriented party, which is running the government in NWFP and are coalition partners with the ruling party in Baluchistan are political sympathizers of Taliban and have links with militants in the tribal belt. On one hand, the federal government finds this relationship useful and uses JUI leadership as interlocutors for talking to the militants and Taliban, but in the bargain gives greater space and influence to religious parties and militants.

This is not to say that Taliban have not suffered severe military setbacks as was the case during encounters by NATO and US forces in September-October, 2006 and during the spring offensive of 2007, when hundreds of the newly recruited Taliban or militants were killed. Losses multiplied as Taliban reinforced failure by continuing to give conventional fight to NATO forces instead of relying on guerilla warfare in which they excel. Nonetheless, hard core of Taliban has survived the debacle and there is again a resurgence of activity. Loss of life has become a common occurrence in this region and fresh recruits from Afghanistan and refugee



camps in Pakistan continue to make up the losses. Even as of now there are about 2.2 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and the number keeps growing as conditions in Afghanistan deteriorate.

Retaining control over Kandhar is critical for NATO forces. Not only that it is the stronghold of Mullah Umar and the ideological Mecca of Taliban but strategically important. If it were ever to fall in the hands of Taliban it will unhinge Kabul, and that would be then their next destination.

The question arises, can Taliban be defeated militarily? Perhaps yes tactically, but they will regroup and come back and the victory would be short lived, as in the past. Regrettably, the situation at present is disappointing and the Americans and British are realizing that as in the past, Afghanistan is relatively easy to invade but very difficult to occupy. Putting it in another way, the battle for Afghanistan was easily won but the war is being lost. The battle against Taliban has to be won in the political, ideological, cultural and economical realm with the military instrument being used only for containing the advance and neutralizing their military power. In essence we have to transform their mind set and world view and this can only come about through education, economic development, political evolution and opening the world to them. There is no quick fix. Patience, prudence and commitment of a high order from all stake holders will be necessary to face this monumental challenge.

In essence an achievable alternate paradigm has to be developed, which is attractive for the Afghans and the tribal people to shun this archaic Taliban ideology. All this has to be undertaken in close coordination between Pakistan and Afghanistan and with the moral and financial support of the international community. The battle for winning the hearts and minds of people has to be fought primarily by indigenous forces over a long period and NATO and United States military's role can be useful only to a point. The greater the foreign military involvement lesser would be the chance of success, because nationalist forces resisting foreign intervention are likely to side with Taliban even if they have nothing in common with them. International community should primarily engage and assist Afghanistan in economic and social development and the current support in training Afghan army and police officers should continue. Foreign assistance is also required for rebuilding Afghan's infrastructure. Decades of conflict, mass migration of population and deep polarization among political and ethnic groups complicates the task of stabilizing and rebuilding Afghanistan. It would need years of creativity and determination on the part of Afghans and the international community to achieve any tangible progress.



# 9

## Non-Government Organizations in Peace and Development in Sri Lanka: Positive Impacts and Challenges

*Ramanie Jayatilaka*

**N**on-Government Organizations (NGOs) are on the centre stage in the process of development and peace in third world countries, and Sri Lanka is no exception. The interest in NGOs has come from different quarters, from academics, researchers, development activists, multi- and bilateral donor agencies and society. This is due to the shift of NGOs' role from the original relief and community development, located in the periphery of mainstream development to mainstream development discourse and practice.

In the last thirty years or so there has been a rapid growth of NGOs working in the areas of development and peace in Sri Lanka. While there are specific NGOs that work on peace, the others deal with combinations of relief delivery, development and peace. Most bilateral and multilateral donor agencies make explicit allocations for NGOs. The new importance assigned to NGOs by aid agencies and governments in the Northern

countries is due to the disappointment of the past performances of the states in the southern countries. Neo-classical and neo-liberal economists have been concerned on the inefficiencies of state interventions in development. Equally, concerns have been on the poor accountability of many governments to their societies in responding to the needs of the people (Olson, 2006). As Wickramasinghe says "NGOs are seen as a dynamic privatised alternative to bloated state bureaucracies and are envisioned as vehicles of development, democracy and empowerment"(2001:72).

In recent years especially since the end of the cold war, bilateral and multilateral aid agencies have pursued with a 'New Policy Agenda' (Robinson quoted in Olson 2006), which gives new importance to NGOs in poverty alleviation, social welfare and the development of civil society. The 'New Policy Agenda' has two important elements-economic and political. The markets and private sector initiatives are seen as the most efficient mechanism for economic growth. NGOs are seen as more efficient and cost effective than state bureaucracies. Similarly good governance is seen as essential for a healthy economy. The NGOs are given an important role by bilateral and multilateral donor agencies in the democratisation process. As said by Olson, "They are seen as an integral component of a thriving civil society and essential counterweight to state power, opening up channels of communications and participation, providing training grounds for activists, and promoting pluralism" (2006:185).

NGOs role is envisaged in different areas. They are as follows:

- NGOs' strength and commitment for democracy: they are associated with grassroots development, democracy and empowerment. The representations of the voices of the poor, marginalized and excluded are important.
- NGOs in poverty alleviation and sustainable development: they are more efficient in resource use and more effective than the state in reaching the poorest sections of the society and in promoting the participation of the poor people in project design, implementation and monitoring.
- NGOs as efficient actors: their potentiality for efficient service delivery. This is so because NGOs are said to have better understanding of local areas and people. They could deliver more appropriate services and be more cost-effective than the public sector. NGOs are concerned with technologies that are more appropriate and environmentally sustainable

- NGOs as peace promoters: they can help to reduce tensions and strengthen people's capacities for conflict resolutions and find peaceful options (Anderson, 1999, Olson, 2006, Farrington, Bebbington, Wellard and Lewis 1993).

Thus in this paper an attempt is made to look at the emergence of NGOs in Sri Lanka in the context of socio-economic and political transformation and make a critical assessment of their role in peace and development as reflected in development and political discourse and practice. The role of NGOs in peace and development will be analysed based on the author's empirical experiences from three recent studies carried out (1) on people's consultation in post tsunami activities, (2) impact of humanitarian assistance on conflict and (3) minorities, civil society organizations and development (UNDP and Colombo University Community Extension Centre, 2005, Colombo University Community Extension Centre, 2006, Jayatilaka and Dasgupta 2005). To begin with the development of NGOs as an alternative sector or 'third sector' to government and private institutions will be discussed.

### **Emergence of NGO Sector in Sri Lanka**

While there is a proliferation of NGOs and corresponding interest, defining NGOs is rather difficult due to disagreements (Kloos, no date, Perera, 1998-1999, Uyangoda, 1995, Wickramasinghe, 2001). Perera even points out the challenge that has posed to the very notion that NGOs are non-governmental, by quoting from Petras:

"In reality non-governmental organizations are not non-governmental. They receive funds from overseas governments or work as private subcontractors of local governments. Frequently they openly collaborate with governmental agencies at home or overseas" (Perera, 1998-1999 quoted from Petras, 1997).

However in this paper the definition provided by Wickramasinghe is used. She defines non-governmental organizations as:

".... any association or organization that is non-profit and non-governmental and engaged in relief and rehabilitation, social justice, social welfare, environment protection, gender equality, development and human rights" (2001:76).

In tracing the emergence and the importance of NGOs in Sri Lanka both the international and local scenarios are important. Much of what was discussed at the beginning in the introduction and reasons provided by Wickramasinghe (2001) are important for the international situation. The

important reasons are increased funding, ideological preferences, programme effectiveness and sustainability, external pressure and the creation of constituencies. The increased allocations of foreign funding to NGOs are a reflection of the expansion of the NGO sector on an international scale. For example, the aid originating from OECD countries channelled through NGOs increased from 0.7 per cent in 1975 to 3.6 in 1985. This further increased to about five per cent in 1992-94 to the figure of US \$ 2.3 billion (Bastian, 1997). In recent times these allocations have increased further. The ethnic war and internal displacements and the tsunami disaster have attracted huge amounts of international humanitarian and development assistance channelled through NGOs.

As Perera (1998-1999) points out there is another channel of funding NGOs. That is, much of the funds are initially taken by the NGOs in developed countries. The development NGOs registered in northern countries have increased from 1600 in 1980 to 2970 in 1993. The total spending of these NGOs for the same period has increased from US \$ 2.8 to US \$ 5.7 billion. Some of these accumulated funds in developed countries come to countries like ours through NGOs in those countries. While the increased international presence is seen in terms of globalized capitalism there is also a critique of characterizing NGOs as international civil society (Bastian, 1997).

While the international developments and scenarios are important in the emergence of NGOs, it is equally important to understand the socio-economic and political conditions and dynamics prevailing in Sri Lanka. While the Sri Lankan State with its social welfare policies has been able to achieve a certain degree of social development, especially in the areas of education and health, it has miserably failed in bringing about economic development. There has not been any parallel economic development with social development in the country. Poverty persists; marginalisation and exclusion of certain sections of the population could be seen. From the time of independence (1948) poverty alleviation has been a major agenda for the State. This situation has allowed many development NGOs to come into the scene first in a peripheral way but later into the mainstream of development.

This was more to be seen since 1977 with fundamental changes in the society. The UNP government of that time introduced the open economy policies followed by liberalising of the economy. The government moved away from the state controls to a market economy. The Structural Adjustment Policies were also instrumental in breaking away government



structures. Many budget cuts were made especially in the areas of social welfare by dismantling some of the schemes that were in place such as free rice ration. The state's withdrawal from such sectors paved the way for NGOs to come into the scene.

The abuse or violations of rights of women, children, elders, the disabled, workers, animals have also created an environment for NGOs to emerge. Although such NGOs work with target groups on specific issues such as women's NGOs working for the welfare of women, they have been able to lobby and advocate for national policy changes and new initiatives. The Domestic Violence Act, The National Plan for Children and The Elders Act are some examples.

Sri Lankan society for the last several years is experiencing violence in the context of armed confrontations between the state security forces and Tamil militant youth group, LTTE, and the confrontations between the Sinhala youth organization, the *Janatha Vimukthi Preamuna* (JVP), and agents of the state. Although the JVP has entered parliamentary politics, the confrontations between the security forces and LTTE are continuing. Although there were moments of silence, peace talks, negotiations and more recently the signing of the Peace Accord (2002) nothing has been able to bring about sustainable peace in the country. The civil war of this nature has brought much suffering to the people by way of death, injuries, massive displacements and infrastructure destruction especially in the North and East of the country. In such situations the State has no capacity to cope alone, and assistance from both international and local NGOs is needed. There are many International NGOs, like UNHCR, ICRC, UNICEF, OXFAM, Save the Children, FORUT that work in conflict areas. Similarly there are large numbers of national and local NGOs operating in these areas.

In December 2004, Sri Lanka was quite unexpectedly struck by the tsunami tidal wave which brought massive destruction and suffering to the people. Thirteen districts of the country were affected. Some of the districts, the North and the East were already undergoing much suffering due to the civil war. The country has not yet overcome the problems of the tsunami disaster. In the first few weeks the local communities, religious institutions, political parties all came forward to assist the affected but later relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction (RRR) work has become the responsibility of the State and NGOs. There were many new International NGOs and local NGOs that came into existence with the tsunami disaster. Some of these International NGOs have disappeared by now.

## History of NGO Development in Sri Lanka

Many writers claim that NGOs have a long history in Sri Lanka (Smaraweera, 1997, Kloos, no date, Jayawardena, 1997, Perera, 1998-1999, Wickramasinghe, 2001). The traced history goes back to the beginning of the British rule, where counterpart organizations affiliated with Christian missionary efforts were to be found. They were mostly located in urban areas and mainly limited to charity work. To list some of these organizations, there were, Baptist Mission (1802), Colombo Friend in Need Society (1831) and the Salvation Army (1833). In the latter part of the nineteenth century in the wake of religious revival movements, Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim NGOs emerged. Examples: Maha Bodhi Society founded by Anagarika Dharmapala (1891), the Young Men's Buddhist Association (1898), the Muslim Education Society (1890) (Wickramasinghe, 2001).

This trend continued to the last decades of the British rule and at the time of independence (1948) there were many NGOs that were involved in social welfare and poverty alleviation. The Ceylon Social Service League (1915), Lanka Mahila Samiti (1930), St. John Ambulance Association (1906), The Rotary Club of Colombo (1929) are examples. The Hindu Board of Education (1921), All Ceylon Buddhist Congress (1929) had religious interests. Some other NGOs emerged as a response to the depression of the 1930s and the malaria epidemic (Wickramasinghe, 2001).

However, from 1970s there was a phenomenal growth of NGOs with diverse interests. The new social movements strengthened the civil society. Gender activists, human rights advocates, developmentalists, and environmentalists all became vociferous and formed different NGOs most with international links. Since 1980s with the acceleration of violence in the North and East several NGOs promoting peace, such as National Peace Council and Women for Peace at the national level were established. There are also NGOs such as Social Scientists Association, The Centre for Ethnic Studies, and Centre for Policy Alternatives that propagate multi-religious multi-culturalism through seminars, publications, films and other interventions.

The recent tsunami disaster also increased the number and importance of NGOs. Although there is much criticism and suspicion on NGOs, they are in the centre stage in relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction activities in tsunami areas. Many NGOs, which did not have regional offices, opened up such offices to implement activities. Thus today NGOs are involved in diversified activities.

Today there is much concern and debate on the emergence and operation of NGOs in the country. Until very recently Sri Lanka did not possess specific statutory or regulatory provisions that subject NGOs to legal scrutiny. The only mandatory requirement for NGOs was to register with the Ministry of Social Services. NGOs could also register under the Limited Liability Companies under the Act No. 17 of 1982, Mutual Provident Societies Act No.55 of 1949, Trust Ordinance Act No. 9 of 1917, Inland Revenue Act No. 28 of 1979 and Inland Revenue Act No.4 of 1965 (Wickramasinghe, 2001).

As Wickramasinghe says "the Government-NGO relations in Sri Lanka have gone through various contrasting stages of relative indifference until 1970s, ambivalence in the 1980s and open confrontation in the early 1990s" (2001:84). Today NGOs are subjected to scrutiny, NGO personnel have to obtain work permits from the Ministry of Defence. NGOs also have to appear in front of the Parliamentary Select Committee. Recently four International NGOs were asked to leave and visas of expatriate staff were withdrawn. The Presidential Commission of Inquiry in Respect of Non-Government Organizations in 1990 was also such an effort to investigate NGOs.

The NGOs are heterogeneous in respect of size, funding, operations and activities. These NGOs can be classified into three categories. They are:

- **The International NGOs** — these NGOs are affiliated with international agencies, receive funds from abroad and have both foreign and local personnel for day-to-day operations. Organizations such as UNHCR, UNICEF, OXFAM, ICRC, Save the Children and FORUT are examples.
- **The National NGOs** — these organizations are formed as national organizations and maintain offices both at the capital and in regions. They generate funds both locally and internationally. They write proposals and obtain funds from abroad. Locals are involved in project activities and maintaining offices. Sarvodaya and Seva Lanka Foundation are examples.
- **The Local NGOs** — these NGOs are operative only in particular regions. They are small in scale. They have local staff to carry out activities. They receive funds locally but also through international NGOs. AHAM in the Eastern province, Wehilihini Development Centre in Monaragala district and Kinnya Vision in Trincomalee district are some local NGOs.



NGOs function as different categories, such as international, national and local, but at the operational level different types of partnership arrangements are formed. NGOs also work in partnership with government structures. These partnership arrangements run at times from international NGOs to national NGOs and national NGOs to local NGOs. In such cases the local NGOs are involved only in implementation and they have no hand in designing the project. Although these partnership arrangements are useful they do not always work smoothly.

All these types of NGOs have a paid staff and recently NGOs have become an important source of employment especially for young persons. Especially with the ongoing war and tsunami, many locals have found employment with the opening up of new local NGOs.

### **NGOs Role in Peace and Development**

**Positive Role:** As discussed in the previous section there is a proliferation of NGOs in Sri Lanka. One also notes the diversified activities such NGOs undertake. However, in a broad sense all these NGOs work towards development, whether it is relief, sustainable livelihoods, social development, infrastructure development, protecting human rights, promoting peace and conflict resolution. Development cannot be achieved unless democracy, equality, peace, participation and social justice are achieved. Therefore to work for the poor, the marginalized, the socially excluded, and the displaced is important. In early development theories and practice such groups were not important, as economic growth was the model for development. In such a model the 'trickle down effect' that was expected did not happen and in fact the gap between the haves and have-nots increased. However, the emphasis on sustainable development and participation in the current development discourse provides a good stage for NGOs to operate. This is because NGOs are seen as having strength and commitment for democracy, they are capable of facilitating poverty alleviation and sustainable development, and are more effective in promoting peace.

Looking at empirical situations (war torn, tsunami and poverty areas) NGOs have made several positive interventions and contributions to make people's lives better. Their activities range from relief to development. In both war torn and tsunami areas the NGOs have been extensively involved in relief distribution. With the ethnic violence spreading to many parts of the country and especially to the North and East, the NGOs came forward to assist the victims. During times of war and violence, the



international NGOs with the government distributed relief to the affected. It was only the international organizations that could operate in those areas due to security reasons. They coordinated activities between the government forces and the militants, which is essential at a time of war. The UNHCR, ICRC, OXFAM etc. were active on the ground in relief work. People's basic needs at welfare centres were looked after by these organisations.

Similarly at the time of tsunami disaster, relief distribution was a major activity of NGOs. During the first few months of tsunami, relief distribution was the main agenda for both the government and NGOs. NGOs both international and local took care of providing temporary shelter; distributing household materials, school equipment etc. People today look more towards NGOs than the government for relief mainly because receiving such assistance from NGOs is less troublesome. People do not have to get involved in unnecessary paper work and go through bureaucratic structures. NGOs often come to the people rather than wait for people to come to them. At times of disasters such arrangements work better for the people. However, these arrangements have at times created conflicts and tensions among recipients, which will be discussed later.

NGOs — international, national and local — are involved in development activities. They at times work as partner organizations with the government but mostly work on individual basis. In the conflict areas these organisations worked and are working in developing infrastructure and establishing livelihoods. Funds for infrastructure development came as loans through international financial institutions or through bi-lateral or multi-lateral agencies. While some funds came through international agencies, funds also came to the government. Some of these funds that came to the government for infrastructure development such as rehabilitation of irrigation tanks, roads for resettlement areas etc. were implemented through NGOs. The government has obtained the assistance of NGOs to implement projects as NGOs are considered better social mobilizers and better workers with people than government officers. The North East Integrated Agricultural Project (NEIAP) and Integrated Rural Development Project (IRDP) are examples. In a way the government has accepted NGOs as efficient and effective partners for their activities.

In the tsunami areas the NGOs are heavily involved in providing permanent shelter and livelihood development. In fact NGOs are more involved in these activities than the government. NGOs are seen to be faster in providing services to people, as they have to keep to targets. It is essential

that NGOs fulfil targets to receive further funding. They are accountable to the funders. While it can be good, as recipients do not have to wait for long, the quality of the service is no way ensured.

NGOs also work for promoting peace. The NGOs that work specifically for peace operate at the national level. NGOs are recognised as informal defenders of and advocates for human rights. NGOs working for human rights such as Amnesty International and the Human Rights Watch are active in bringing out human rights violations both by the State and LTTE. They act as a pressure group in curtailing violence. Then there are other organizations such as the Peace Council and Women for Peace that too act as pressure groups to the State and LTTE to stop violence and to bring peaceful solutions to the problems. At the local level too NGOs did attempt to bring harmonious relationships among different ethnic groups in their project activities. In Trincomalle district there were some small NGOs such as Peace and Community Action and Shakthi that carried out programmes to sensitise people on ethnic relations and to bring better understanding among different ethnic groups and to work in harmony. Such NGOs were sensitive and neutral and they implemented programmes for all ethnic groups. However, this was not the case with several other NGOs, which would be discussed later.

**Problems and Challenges:** While the contributions that NGOs make in development and peace in the country are evident, there is much concern and debate about the negative long-term impact on the society. There are many reasons, which are highlighted in this section.

As mentioned in the earlier section NGOs are seen as the main relief providers at times of disasters. While it is absolutely necessary for people in distress to receive relief either by the government or NGOs, it is also important to distribute such relief in a coordinated and a well-planned manner. But this was not evident in tsunami, conflict and poverty areas in the country. Since there were several NGOs of different sizes with different funding sources and capabilities relief distribution was not uniform. There was hardly any coordination and collaboration among NGOs in relief distribution. In many cases they were ad-hoc interventions that brought about conflicts among the recipients. More than anything this kind of relief distribution has created a dependency syndrome in people. The tsunami and war victims continue to wait for relief and this has hindered the development of their own capacity to overcome problems and be more self-reliant.

NGOs are envisaged as better actors in development work and seen as more efficient, effective and cost effective. All these may be good terms to describe NGOs but in reality the situations would be not so good. People's voices about NGOs did not provide a positive out look on NGOs. In the studies carried out in war, tsunami and poverty areas people had mixed feelings about NGOs. While they appreciated some of the work that NGOs did for them they felt NGOs could have done much more in developing their areas. People were critical about the unwanted wastage in NGO activities. NGOs, especially the international NGOs, display their luxurious and exorbitant expenditure patterns creating ill feelings and anger in people. Many people talk about the large overhead expenses that go into NGO activities.

As mentioned in the introduction NGOs were seen as efficient actors because of their better understanding of local areas and local needs and could implement sustainable programmes. However, in reality this was not the case. The empirical data reveals that many NGOs were not sensitive to local needs and local capabilities. This has in fact led to conflicts between people and NGOs. Although 'people's participation' and 'empowerment' are two buzz words in NGO discourse they were merely limited to forming societies at the grass root level. At times such activities are a nuisance to the locals. Often people complain about endless meetings that NGOs have for people. This is a problem for many poor people who survive on casual labour arrangements. There was no participatory planning, implementation and monitoring of projects. NGOs generally implement programmes that have been planned according to the agendas of the agencies without considering local requirements and needs. Very often local NGOs write proposals to match the interests and agendas of the northern donors to receive funding and therefore local requirements are completely ignored. Many national and local NGOs sustain themselves through foreign funding and therefore there is a large competition for funding. Therefore these NGOs devote a large proportion of time in fund raising. Olson makes a vivid point in saying,

"The accountability of non-elected NGOs when providing services to 'client' is very different to the formal relationship established between state and citizens, giving rise to what Wood has called a 'franchise state' in countries such as Bangladesh".

Conflict insensitivity in NGO activities is a major problem. One major reason for this is that NGOs are not accountable to the people. They are accountable only to the funding agencies. Funding agencies mainly



expect regular progress reports showing the achievements. Very often achievements are evaluated with the number of programmes or targets achieved but not the quality of the services provided. This can be seen in the quality of some of the permanent shelters provided for tsunami victims.

Lack of transparency is another issue that creates unnecessary conflicts. Selection of beneficiaries for NGO activities is a major problem, especially in the tsunami areas. A common complaint by the tsunami and war victims was the unfair distribution of aid. Inequity in distribution of aid has created tension and conflicts in communities. Since there was no transparency in the distribution of aid people had no opportunity to raise their voice against injustice.

While appreciating some of the work NGOs do in peace development, there is also a critique on the activities of NGOs that are harmful for peaceful co-existence between different ethnic groups. NGO activities at times create ill feelings, mistrust, and unhappiness among people, as some NGOs show bias and prejudice to certain ethnic groups. In fact, there are some NGOs that work for the welfare of a particular ethnic group. One could always argue that such NGOs are bound to exist in a society comprising of different ethnic groups. Minority groups always have the feeling of injustice and inequality vested on them by the majority groups and the State. Therefore they always look for NGOs to help them. However, this situation is not healthy as all ethnic groups equally wait for NGOs to help without any discrimination. In the Trincomalee district where there is an equal representation of different ethnic groups, the Sinhales (majority ethnic group in the country) were critical about NGO activities saying that they worked only for the minority groups when they too were equally affected by the war. This paved the way for a number of clashes and riots in the district. Placing of the Buddha statue at the central fish market was one of them.

Looking at the work force in some NGOs, it is clear that ethnicity has been an important criterion for selecting employees. This could be seen in many local NGOs. This once again may be due to the feeling of mistrust about other ethnic groups. But if ethnic harmony among the different ethnic groups is to be fostered then such ethnic segregation is harmful. This was very much seen in NGOs that were working in war torn areas.

As Anderson (1999) says, international assistance given in the context of a violent conflict, becomes a part of that context and also of the conflict. Although aid agencies often seek to be neutral or nonpartisan their activities will be seen as promoting the well being of certain groups.



Therefore looking at NGO assistance what Anderson says is important. She says: "When given in conflict settings, aid can reinforce, exacerbate, and prolong the conflict; it can also help to reduce tensions and strengthen people's capacities to disengage from fighting and find peaceful options for solving problems. Often an aid program does both: in some ways it worsens the conflict, and in others it supports disengagement. But in all cases aid given during conflict cannot remain separate from that conflict" (1999:1).

At this point it is also important to bring Pinnawala's (2004) argument on NGOs role at times of violence. While he appreciates NGOs' role as pressure groups condemning violence, in the ethnic war in Sri Lanka, he says it also has an unintended function in continuing violence. Condemnation of government violence could provide support for the militant's case and similarly condemnation of the excesses of the militants could justify the government using violence to defeat the militants. He also says that providing relief at times of violence could make violence tolerable. Although this may be so, the problem lies in the limited scope that the NGOs have in playing in a fully-grown ethnic war. Especially this is because NGOs are outsiders to the main actors and also they make piecemeal interventions.

Another factor that needs to be brought in the discussion is the Government-NGO relationship. Although it was mentioned earlier that there were partner relationships between the government and NGOs, these relationships did not always run smoothly. Although much of the mistrust about one another has disappeared, still differences exist in condemning one another on different issues. These differences come out clearly when one talks to NGO personnel and government officers separately. The NGOs feel that the state structures are inefficient and there are many bureaucratic delays. The government too feels that NGOs work without accountability and on ad-hoc basis according to their own agendas without seeing local requirements. There is the feeling that one is better than the other. However, the ground situations do not allow NGOs to work completely on their own. They need the cooperation and support of the government in implementing activities. The situation is more complicated in the war torn areas, as NGOs have to work with two different structures – the State and the LTTE.

Thus the above discussion makes it clear that NGOs through time have come to play a pivotal role in country's development and peace. NGOs are another sector — a 'third sector', that function with the public and private sectors in the country's development. NGOs functioning as a 'third

sector' have their strengths and weaknesses. They should be able to reflect on their successes and failures and make a more concerted effort to work towards the betterment of the country rather than think only of enlarging their activities.

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# 1

## *Political Economy of Fundamentalism in Bangladesh: Emergence, Limits to Growth, and Way Out*

*Abul Barkat*

The term “fundamentalism” — as religious reaction against scientific and secular culture — may not be a perfect one, but it is a useful label for movements that, despite substantial differences, bear a strong family resemblance (Armstrong, 2001). Fundamentalism is a controversial category, but an objective meaning can be given to it in line with the following: embattled faith; beleaguered tradition; withdrawal from mainstream; creation of counter culture; transformation of mythology into ideology; cultivation of theologies of rage, resentment and revenge; refusal of dialogue necessary for peace and continuity; defending beleaguered tradition using ritual truth in globalizing world that asks for reasons (see box on next page).

The economics of fundamentalism is relatively a new area of research not yet adequately defined in the political economy literature.

This paper is not aimed at defining economics of fundamentalism per se as an independent economic system or an independent mode of production. The purpose here is to provide an analysis of the economic strength of the religious fundamentalist forces in Bangladesh within a political economy framework. In accomplishing the analysis, the historical reasons for substantive regression from “Humanistic Islam” into “Political Islam” in Bangladesh have been traced, and the essence of economic and social foundations for the emergence and growth of religious extremism and economics of fundamentalism have been identified. And finally, attempts have been made to understand the political limits to growth of economics of fundamentalism and associated religious-communal politics in Bangladesh. Therefore, this paper purports to provide an analysis of the political economy of Islamist fundamentalism-cum religious extremism in Bangladesh.

### Objective meaning of fundamentalism

Religious fundamentalism is a form of militant piety in religion. Fundamentalism is an embattled faith. It is beleaguered tradition defended in the traditional way — by reference to ritual truth — in a globalizing world that asks for reasons. Fundamentalism is evident in both great monotheisms (Christianity, Islam, Judaism) and in other religions (Buddhism, Hinduism, even in Confucianism etc). The Muslim and Jewish fundamentalisms are not much concerned with doctrine, which is an essentially Christian preoccupation. ‘Fundamentalisms’ all follow a certain pattern — they are embattled forms of spirituality, which have emerged as a response to a perceived crisis. They are engaged in a conflict with enemies whose secularist policies and beliefs seem inimical to religion itself. Fundamentalists do not regard this battle as a conventional political struggle, but experience it as a cosmic war between the forces of good and evil. They fear annihilation, and try to fortify their beleaguered identity by means of a selective retrieval of certain doctrines and practices of the past. To avoid contamination, they often withdraw from mainstream society to create a counterculture, yet fundamentalists are not impractical dreamers. They have absorbed the pragmatic rationalism of modernity, and, under the guidance of charismatic leaders, they refine these “fundamentals” so as to create an ideology that provides the faithful with a plan of action. Fundamentalists — by turning the mythos of their religion into logos and by transforming their complex mythology into a streamlined ideology — cultivate theologies of rage, resentment, and revenge. Fundamentalism is a refusal of dialogue in a world whose peace and continuity depend on it.

Economics of fundamentalism can be viewed as a concentrated expression of religion-based communal politics aimed at capturing the state power using religion as pretext. It runs contrary to secular approach to people, smothering and decimating the free, unfettered outlook. It has



launched a vicious onslaught on the spirit of secularism that was embedded in the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh in 1972 following the Liberation War of 1971. The act of satisfying people's hopes and aspirations turned out to be a fiasco. At the same time, erosion of a secular democratic mind-set also cropped up. Both these two factors, besides encouraging the growth of fundamentalism and its economic agents and interests, have given birth to the institutions that turned favorable to their expanded reproduction. Consequently, the economics of fundamentalism came in to being.

The rise of socialism in the first half of the last century and its disintegration during the end of the century; economic crisis in the developed capitalist world; the aggressive attitude of imperialism and polarization of the world, and the rise of unjust globalization — all contributed to the growth of religion-based fundamentalism in the world. Imperialism has played a major part in the speedy rise of fundamentalism in some parts of the world. This becomes evident, from the pertinent question: Who created Talebanism, Molla Omar, Bin Laden?

The global communities find a subtle touch of irony as they bestow their concentration upon the fact that those rich and powerful countries, which want control over others, have not delayed describing such destructive elements as their enemy when their imperialistic interests are served. Here, the profit equation has acted as the key determinant. Where and how imperialism will play its role will depend on their own political economic equation with their self interest — where in the ultimate analysis, economic considerations play the vital role. Capital will not hesitate to risk its life if there is a chance of 300 per cent profit earning. Therefore, the rise of economics of fundamentalism is obvious, and such religious extremism is compatible with the evolution of free-market-mediated increasing alienation and crisis in identity. Likewise if certain form of fundamentalism turns out as an obstacle to the growth of imperialism, the same will be replaced by another form of communalism — this is also noticeable. In the present era, the political economy of oil and gas, geo-economics of water and oil, political economy of establishing command over the global market (in the name of so called free market and globalization) — these are some of the broad areas of bondages between fundamentalism and imperialism.

Both external and internal elements of fundamentalism give rise to parochialism against religious liberalism. On the one hand, the crisis of dollar economics<sup>1</sup>, the sharp growth of petro dollar in the world economy and its volatility, the attack of Soviet Union on Afghanistan, the barbarian

9/11 and subsequent over-reaction by the name of “attack on terrorism”, doubt and mistrust in people carrying Muslim name in the developed world, the war against Iraq<sup>2</sup> — the second largest reservoir of oil in the world — and occupation of the country, the spread of alien culture through electronic media in the name of globalization; on the other hand, large scale distress-destitution-deprivation of our people amidst politico-economic criminalization and increasing helplessness of common person in daily life — all these created a space for and played an immense role in the spread of intolerance and hatred using religion. These were the key opportunities, which have created the increasing demand for growth of religion-based communal politics. The consequent emergence of economics of fundamentalism can be seen as a supply side response to that demand. And, supply creates its own demand.

### **Islam in East-Bengal: Historically Liberal, Humanistic and Secular**

Most of the written histories pertaining to the evolution of Islam in East Bengal (now Bangladesh) are incomplete and euphemistic. They are not based on empirical evidence, and lack knowledge-based inferences. Objective analyses of materials of historiography, such as geography, changes of river morphology, emergence and evolution of agrarian civilization, changing pattern of land revenue collection, historical chronology, politics of the Hindu Raja and that of the Muslim emperors — have not been made in understanding the essence of evolution of Islam in East-Bengal. The relevant historiography is rather weak in this respect.

The origin and evolution of Islam in East-Bengal — in the writings of historians — are available in four lines of historiography of Islamization in East Bengal — Immigration, Sword, Patronage, and Social Liberation. None of these historiographic lines are complete in terms of empirical substantiation. The pertinent issues without satisfactory answers include: Who are the immigrants? When and how did the immigrants arrive? When and how was Islam transformed into mass religion in this country with the power of sword? History tells us that, even the most conservative Mogul emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707) did not encourage or exert pressure for religious purposes. Akbar (1556-1605) abolished discriminatory land revenue system, banned activities offensive to Hindus, e.g., cow slaughter, admitted Hindu sages into his private audience and Rajput chieftains into his ruling class. He ordered that the holy book of the Hindus should be translated into Persian and celebrated Hindu festivals etc.

In fact, in the subcontinent as a whole, there is an inverse relationship between the degree of Muslim political penetration and the

degree of Islamization. Dhaka was the residence of the Nawab for about a hundred years but it contained a smaller proportion of Muslims than any of the surrounding districts, except Faridpur. Malda and Murshidabad contained the old capitals, which were the center of Muslim rule for about 450 years, and yet the Muslims formed a smaller proportion of the population as compared to that in the adjacent districts of Dinajpur, Rajshahi, and Nadia (Census of India, 1901).

The main initiators of Islam in East Bengal — the Sufis-Devotees-Ulemaas — did not preach extreme religious rites during their time in the last many centuries. Even they did not support any religious persecution. On the other hand, they kept the place of religious activity — Tomb, Mosque, Madrasa, etc — small in size. They cleared the forest and expanded the areas for agricultural activity in the once-forest hinterland. They got this hinterland forest as grant. This implies that they involved people in economic activities, primarily in agriculture. Side by side, Sufis put more emphasis on activities related to rendering humane services. They never persuaded people much to accept Islam. Their main motto was, “service to the best of the creations”, that is, ‘service to human person (*Ashraful Maklukath*) is religion’. There is no evidence whatsoever indicating that the Sufis in Bengal actually indulged in the destruction of temples or places of worship of other religions.

The Sufis and their contemporary religious persons brought about admixture of religious ideas with economic development and agricultural production (of course analysis of city-based aristocracy “*Ashraf*” thesis is different). From the writings of the Sufis and Devotees, such evidence is there that “*Allah* sent Adam to Sandip Island’. Gabriel at the instruction of *Allah* asked Adam to go to Mecca to build the original Kaba. After Kaba was built Gabriel gave him a plough and yoke, a pair of draft bullocks, and some grains, and communicated the instruction of *Allah*: “agriculture will be your destiny”, Adam sowed the grains, raised crops, harvested and prepared bread with the corns”<sup>3</sup>.

Therefore, in contradistinction with the main theses of most historiographers we see no significant role of Sword, Immigration or Patronage in propagation of Islam in East-Bengal. Islam evolved in East Bengal as an adjunct of agriculture based civilization. Sufis and Devotees of Islam along with preachers of other religions participated in struggle against feudalism and colonialism. They even gave leadership to such movement. The Sufis and Ulamaas took such steps using the usual logic of liberal humanism of religion.



## Islamist Fundamentalism — Outcome of Contemporary Regressive Transformation

For the first time in the history of Islam in East Bengal, a major regressive trend was evident in the last century which can be treated as a major disaster in the socio-political life of Bengal. It was the time, when at one stage, in the process of anti-colonial movements, a move came to establish a State based on religion, meaning thereby creation of Pakistan for the Muslims and Hindustan for the Hindus. This widely known “two nation theory” can be denoted as the first formal basis for the formation of “Political Islam” in Bengal.

The Sufis and the Ulamaas of the liberal humanism of Islam could not oppose the division of the United India on the basis of religion. This regressive transformation against the main religious course did not take place all on a sudden. Specific aggressive courses of religion (such as Wahabi, etc.) were in place. As a result, a negative transformation of humanistic welfarism of Sufi's-Ulamaa's Islam took pace. What was liberal, humanistic and secular turned into parochial aggressiveness. The object was to capture state power through use of “political Islam” in narrow selfish interest. With the establishment of Pakistan State based on religion, a new trend was set. The trend of capturing state power through aggressive religious fundamentalism arose from a peaceful economic evolution-based agrarian development. Religious communalism became so powerful in Pakistan that in 1965 Indo-Pak war, the feudal-army rulers of that time did not take even twenty four hours time to label all the Hindus of East Pakistan as Hindustani. They proclaimed 'Enemy Property Act', which implies that all the Hindus residing in Pakistan are the enemies<sup>4</sup>. Such religion-based communalism supported by the state was never ever in evidence in the history of East Bengal.

The religion-based division of the country took place without the informed consent of the people (irrespective of Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist or Christian). They were not involved in the process of division of the country (the so-called referendum was just tokenism). People's opinion was not respected. That is why at that time there was bluffing slogans like, “*Biri* (or *Bidi* — a locally made cigarette) in the hand, beetle nut in the mouth, we will establish Pakistan through fighting”<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand, people with vision declared “this independence is a blunt lie, because millions are hungry”<sup>6</sup>. The country was divided on the basis of religion (no one felt the need to seek opinion of the people). Largely due to preponderance of the people of one religion in conducting state affairs, feudalistic Pakistan took the aggressive



religious form. In India, the situation was not that acute, because in a relatively large country like India, confluence of various religions and the politico-economic evolution of equality and equity were given recognition constitutionally. In addition, both democracy and media played critical role.

During whole period of Pakistan (1947 to 1971), religion-based communalism was utilized in conducting the state affairs and the socio-cultural activities. For overcoming any socio-political crisis religion was (mis) used. They would say, 'Islam is in danger', wherever there was any problem. For maintaining military rule and autocracy "Islam in danger" was the only slogan. Finally, this same slogan was used against our liberation war, in 1971. Slogan "Islam in danger" was used when Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluch army were brought from West Pakistan to East Pakistan to fight the Freedom Fighters. Of course, many in the Pak-Army witnessed a different situation in East Pakistan. The same slogan "Islam in danger" was used in this country while forming so called "peace committee". The *Albadar*, *Alshams*, *Rajakar*, etc. were formed with a handful of Bengali Muslim collaborators who were against the liberation of this country. These war criminals were certain that the Bengalis imbued with ideas of liberation war would be defeated by the joint effort of the powerful Pakistan military and these local collaborators — *Rajakars*, *Albadar*, *Alshams*. But the opposite happened. At the price of huge blood, we earned our independence. But we failed to punish the war criminals who were opposed to our liberation war. This has played a decisive role in bolstering their audacity. Those religion-traders (they were not as religious as the Sufis and the Ulamaas) and a handful of their followers are the representatives of extreme religious communalism and economics of fundamentalism in Bangladesh. In this country, this was a great distortion of religion. This may be termed the second phase of regressive transformation in Islam of East Bengal. In this country, evolution of Islam in its historical perspective (Sufism) is distinctly different from the present day fundamentalism and their political economy. Therefore, today's religious extremism can be treated as a continuation of religion-based act of terrorism of 1971 on a larger scale with a deeper base. This regressive transformation got impetus and crystallized with the legitimization of communalism in Constitution when 'secularism' was replaced by "Islam will be State religion" (Article 2A).

Communalism in Pakistan not only worked as a basis for forming the State, this gained in strength in a big way afterwards. For freeing the people from discrimination of two-economies, independence of

Bangladesh was declared in 1971. People of this country dreamt of a welfare state, where freedom of choice would be there, where economic opportunities would be open to all, where social facilities would be evolved, where political freedom would be available, where there would be transparency and protective security, where there would be non-communal environment and where secularism would evolve as a state principle. The Constitution of independent Bangladesh State makes such promises publicly. Such a state also meets the demand for fundamental rights of equality of men and women, irrespective of religions and caste. But, the difference between the promise and reality was so stark that possibility existed for the spread of economics of fundamentalism and related politics of religious extremism.

### **Economics of Fundamentalism**

The foundation of economics of fundamentalism is not weak in Bangladesh. This is because although feudal relationship of production has formally come to an end in Bangladesh economy, the traditional feudal psychology has not been abolished on the one hand, and capitalist relationship of production has not yet evolved, on the other. Various types of worse forms of capital have evolved, which does not play a conducive role towards productive investment. This worse form of vulture capitalism is much more conducive to the production of “briefcase capitalism” (commission agency) than strongly-based home grown industrial capitalism. This capitalism is more interested in “real estate and mall-centric economy” than in “productive industrial-agriculture center economy”. Therefore, from structural point of view, the system is not conducive to generation of employment in a labor surplus economy, and thereby, not conducive to poverty reduction<sup>7</sup>. Also, such free market economy is never poor-friendly. The so-called free market within the context of globalized monopoly capitalism has not been instrumental in developing national capitalism in Bangladesh. On the contrary, that has acted as a hindrance, which has also fueled the rise of communal politics and Islamic extremism in Bangladesh.

From the point of view of structural transformation, during the last 34 years (1971-2005) of independence there has not been any fundamental progressive “pro-poor” changes in the economy of Bangladesh. It cannot be said that the spirit of human welfare of independence has been realized. The basic objective of independence was to create healthy people and healthy nation without divide, imbued with the spirit of liberation. The gap between people's aspiration and reality has been wide and ever increasing.

This widening of gaps between aspiration and reality has also helped to grow and nourish religious fundamentalism in Bangladesh.

It is true that the independent Bangladesh has emerged as result of struggle against discrimination in two economies. But the trend of evolution of last 34 years shows a clear division of the country of 140 million into two parts: In the first part are the powerful people of small groups, their number is no more than 1 million (including family members). In the second part are the large numbers of people who are powerless and whose number will be 139 million. Due to machination of politics and economics a situation has been created, where 139 million powerless people exist against only 1 million powerful people. These 139 million people are basically helpless, deprived, destituted and distressed. In real sense, there was no conscious socio-political effort from the side of the governance quarters to make these large numbers of powerless people in to powerful ones or empowering them by way of inclusion of the excluded. On the contrary, multi-faceted efforts are on to increase the power of the powerful people in the society. It appears that this trend will continue for long. The overall politico-economic equation in the society indicates this.

There is no doubt that majority of the powerless people in Bangladesh — whatever is reflected in the “statistical economy” of the government relating to index of employment and standard of living — lead their life in extreme suffering and misery. The relative share of the poor people in total national household income is on the decline. At the same time, the relative share of the rich people is increasing — this is officially recognized. In parallel, a self-destructing culture of plundering and culture of secrecy (opposite to transparency) have made their strong roots in the sectors of economy, politics, administration, education, and culture. Black money, violence, illegal arms, muscle power, illegal gratification, kickback, speed money, corruption, mal-administration, oppression-repression, etc. are the determinants of culture of plundering. All these contribute to the rise of economics of fundamentalism and to the consolidation of religion based politics (“Political Islam”) in Bangladesh.

The basic tendency in the socio-economic evolution during the last 34 years depicts that 1 million criminals have trapped 139 million helpless people in the framework of institutionalized criminalization. A powerful criminal minority, and a powerless majority (the victims of criminalization) — these two trends are clearly in existence in Bangladesh. The rise and development of political economy of fundamentalism during the last 34 years (see Balance Sheet in Table 1) depict a scenario, which makes it clear



that whatever is against human welfare and human development is on the rise. Everything including human relationship has turned into market commodity in a distorted market. In the absence of patriotic and farsighted leadership the politico-economic base for production and people's welfare has not expanded.

**Table 1**

**A 34 Years' Balance sheet of Bangladesh: Trend showing expansion of politico-economic basis for religious extremism**

Indicators showing upward trend	Indicators showing downward trend
Black economy/black money and associated plundering, crime, terrorism, illegal arms, muscle power, corruption, bribe, money laundering, bad governance, repression, oppression, torture, persecution, killing, physical assault	Strengthening economic foundation; development of national capital; industrialization; economic capability to run normal family economy; employment generation; efficacy of institutions dealing with black economy
Billionaire and beggars/paupers; forcible grabbing of land and water-bodies; new cars and flats, and new techniques of begging; number of people dying to collect Zakat clothes (during Eid); number of people sick and dying due to cold and heat waves	Economic opportunities; employment generation (first condition of human development); poor peoples' ownership and access to resources
Rural-to-urban forced migration; number of people living in slum; informal sector; nuclear families; distress and deprivation of children-women-older people	Poor and marginal farmer's control over land; rural employment; real income/wage; extended families
Legal and illegal import and export; unearned income; imbalanced economic growth and development Foreign grant-loan projects; NGO activities	Efficient use of human potential and resources; use of capital for industrialization; development of small and cottage industries and entrepreneurship.
Communication; information technology; number of students in computer and business education	Local initiatives; incentives to promote best use of local resources; peoples' participation in social and economic development
Women's employment and mobility; violence against women and children; women and child trafficking; acid throwing	General science education, technological basis; students in science and philosophy; intellectual pursuits



Private sector commercial universities, colleges, coaching centres, English medium schools, kindergarten, madrasa (including English medium); rich-poor disparity in education	Real wage/income of female workers; protective security of women and child; efficacy of institutions responsible to ensure protective security for women and children
Use of religion with business motive; religious institutions; number of pir-fakirs; religion-based political parties; violence in the name of religion; expressed uneasiness to people belonging to other religion; fatalism; number of palmists	Public/private schools, colleges and universities for common people; quality of education in public schools and low-cost private sector; efficacy of education system; public sector real allocation for basic education
Expensive private clinics, diagnostic centres; anxiety and poverty-related diseases; health expenditure; pauperization due to health expenditure	Equal respect to people of other religion; science institutions; scientific mind-set; enlightened worldview; discussion meetings about science and knowledge; healthy life style; secular feelings-behavior-mind-set
Expensive private clinics, diagnostic centres; anxiety and poverty-related diseases; health expenditure; pauperization due to health expenditure	Primary health care; quality of public health service; actual per capita public health expenditure; efficacy of public health system
Real expenditure on unproductive sectors: military (defense), administration, security related areas; distance between public and public servants; influencing the court	Good governance; justice; feeling of individual security; real public sector expenditure for human welfare and in productive sectors in productive sectors
Investment in election; competition of black money holders in elections; distance between people and elected representative/institutions	Efficacy/utility of elected persons and institutions; people's trust in the elected person and institution; enlightened politics
Exogenous decadent culture; wastage of time in viewing and listening to decadent culture; mutual mistrust	Practice of national culture; feelings of solidarity; mutual trust and respect; human(e) values - moral, ethical and aesthetic
Erosion of political values; criminalization of politics; psychophaniam; politics as business investment; autocracy, (latent) demand for welfare politics.	Politicians love for people; politicians patriotism, knowledge-based and humanitarian ideology-based politics, democratic values.

Source: Adopted from Abul Barkat 2003

During the last 34 years economic criminalization has acted as a powerful catalyst to criminalize all spheres of politics and society. We have attained a sort of self-perpetuating exclusion of the excluded situation; an environment aggravating the alienation process of the excluded; a scenario which has created conditions for more active denial to address the issues pertaining to the broadening of human choices for full-life (to ensure five types of freedom people shall enjoy). The balance sheet (Table 1) shows vividly that we are now caught in a trap of culture of plundering wherein the overall environment favors everything which is against human development, which is fully in congruence with the interest of criminalization. The thirty-four years' balance sheet depicts a clear tendency: The status of all indicators conducive to human development is getting worse, and indicators associated with criminalization trap are getting stronger, and thereby, limiting the scope for broadening human choices to exercise their own free will. During the past three decades of our development we are again back to the discriminatory two-economy (with more strength): One economy is represented by only one million people who are most powerful (on the steering wheel, irrespective of who holds the formal power), and the other economy is represented by the unempowered majority, 139 million people — the excluded, deprived and distressed (According to article 7 of our Constitution, “All powers in the Republic belong to the People”).

The analysis of the type of development presented in Balance Sheet (Table 1) shows that whatever good or positive aspects will benefit the people have not increased, and whatever negative aspects were bad for the country have in fact increased expeditiously. During last 34 years some people became owners of unlimited wealth and larger section of the people have become poorer (the hapless — alienated people look for shelter). Sources of unearned income increased at a high rate, but pomp and show have gone up and sufferings of various kinds of the larger section of the people have expanded. Multi-storied buildings have been erected, but side by side the number of slums has gone up; government's real allocations for welfare of people have declined, and side by side un-productive expenditures have gone up; donor interference has increased and side by side local initiatives have gone down and government allocation has gone up in unproductive sector. The distance between the public and public servants has increased. Election expenditure has gone up but good governance and efficacy of elected institutions have gone down; power of black money has gone up and politician's respect for people has gone down,

and discrimination between the rich and the poor has increased. Government's real allocation in basic education has gone down. Poverty-related diseases have increased and real expenditure on people's health has gone down, and efficacy of government health sector has eroded. Trading on religion increased, number of *Pirs*, *Fakirs*, astrologers, fortune-tellers, violence in the name of religion — all have gone up, and love for people of different religions has declined. The culture of rationality and science, secular behavior and enlightened mind-set have tarnished. In other words, cultural communalism has deepened. Side by side, communalism in education has increased the strength of economic power of fundamentalism. During last 34 years, the number of mainstream primary schools has doubled but the number of Dakhil Madrasas (religious schools) has increased eight times. Over the same time, enrolments in primary schools have doubled but those in Dakhil Madrasas increased thirteen times; per head public expenditure on students of the government middle class educational institutions is Tk. 3000 as against Tk.5,000 in Madrasa sector. Therefore, the “intellectual” basis for rise of religious extremism is in full-swing operation. At the same time, in any future reform of the religious educational system, this may specially be considered that a majority of the Madrasa students have come from poor or low-income families.

The pattern of development mediated through economic and political criminalization and anti-poor anti-middle class political economy has transformed the socio-economic class structure in both rural and urban Bangladesh. This changing class structure is highly compatible with the rise of religious extremism and economics of fundamentalism. The nature of such transformation of socio-economic class structure in Bangladesh (an unexplored subject so far) indicates an overall deteriorating situation of the poor and middle class, and concentration of assets and power among the few rich. The following features reflecting the trends in socio-economic class structure, which explain the real reason(s) for rise of religious extremism and economics of fundamentalism, are in order (Table 2).

Out of 140 million people in Bangladesh, 91 million (65%) are poor, 45 million (32%) represent middle class, and the rest, 4 million (3%) are rich. Two decades back (in 1984), the number of poor people was 60 million (60% of total population) i.e. the number of poor people has increased by 31 million in last 20 years. This rising number of the poor and increasing poverty — an outcome of failure in the national development — constitutes a solid basis for the influence of religiosity and religious extremism in Bangladesh.

**Table 2**  
**Dynamics of Socio-Economic Classes in Bangladesh (1984-2000)**

Rural/ Urban	Poor low asset		Middle Class								Rich (upper class)		All	
			Lower		Middle		Upper		All					
	1984	2004	1984	2004	1984	2004	1984	2004	1984	2004	1984	2004	1984	2004
<b>Rural</b> (land ownership based)														
% rural population	63	71	16.9	16	12	8	4.7	3	33.2	27	3.8	2	100	100
Population (million)	53	77	14	18	10	10	4	3	3	31	3	2	84	100
<b>Urban</b> (asset valuation based)														
% total population	45	50	30	20	20	15	3	10	53	45	2	5	100	100
Population (million)	7	14	5	6	3	5	0.5	3	8.5	14	0.3	2	16	30
<b>Total</b> (Rural + Urban)														
% total population	60	65	19	17.1	13	10.7	4.5	4.3	38.5	32.1	3.3	2.9	100	100
Population (million)	60	91	19	24	13	15	4.5	6	36.5	45	3.3	4	100	140

Source: Abul Barkat 2004a

**Notes on Methodology:** There is no officially accepted (by the government's statistics office) methodology to identify socio-economic classes in Bangladesh. In order to understand the dynamics of changes in the social structure in Bangladesh, the author has devised a methodology to quantify the population into different socio-economic classes. For classification of rural population household land ownership and for urban population amount of asset valuation has been used as criterion. The following classification formula has been used: Poor or less asset group are those having up to 100 decimals of land (rural) and total valuation of asset



less than Tk. 0.5 million (urban); lower middle class was denoted as those having 101-249 decimals of land ownership (rural) and asset valuation of Tk. 0.5-0.9 million (urban); mid-middle class comprises those households having 250-499 decimals of own land (rural) and asset valuation of Tk. 1-2.9 million (urban); upper middle class was denoted as those having 500-749 decimals of land ownership (rural) and asset valuation of Tk. 3-4.9 million (urban), finally, the rich (upper class) was denoted as those households having 750 decimals or more of land ownership (rural) and valuation of asset of Tk.5 million or more (urban).

- The poor are disproportionately highly concentrated in the rural areas compared to the urban: 85 per cent poor live in the rural and 15 per cent in the urban areas. Among the rural households 60 per cent are landless, 80 per cent do not have access to electricity in household (one should remember that electricity is not just light, it is enlightenment)<sup>8</sup>, and 65 per cent do not have access to public health system; and urbanization in Bangladesh is basically “slumization” or ruralization of urban life without concomitant industrialization and with growing informal sectors<sup>9</sup>. This nature of poverty in both rural and urban areas forms a fertile ground for religious extremism and associated activities.
- During the last 20 years (1984-2004), while the total population has increased by 40 per cent the population in the ‘poor’ category has increased by about 52 per cent. Therefore, it is no wonder, that the growth in poverty-led fundamentalism has been high in the last 20 years.
- Among the current 45 million population representing middle class, 14 million (52% of middle class) are in the lower middle class, 15 million (35%) are in the mid-middle class, and the rest 6 million (13%) are in the upper middle class. This middle class — especially the unstable lower and mid-middle classes — forms the intellectual driving force of fundamentalism and the key to the ‘success’ of religious militant activities. In this connection, the following elements in the class dynamics showing rising inequality are worth analysis:
  - About 78 per cent of the total incremental population during the last 20 years can be attributed to the incremental population in the ‘poor’ category, and the rest, 20 per cent, mostly due to downward shift of the lower-middle class.

- Middle class people are relatively more concentrated in the urban areas (45% of urban population) compared to rural (27% of rural population). But, about 67 per cent of all middle class population lives in the rural areas (of whom about 60% represent lower middle class).
- The population size in the middle class, during last 20 years, has increased by 8.5 million (from 36.5 million in 1984 to 45 million in 2004). Sixty percent of this increase in middle class has been due to the increase in the size of the lower middle class implying that lower middle class (in most cases) could not go up. There has also been a downward shift from mid-middle class to lower middle class.
- During the last 20 years, while the size of population in the middle class has increased by 23.3 per cent, the lower middle class has increased by 26.3 per cent at the time when a large number of lower middle class has gone down to join the poor.
- The population size in the rich (upper class) category is 4 million (in 2004). That is, during the last 20 years, there has been an addition of 0.7 million population in the rich category — an increase of 21.2 per cent between 1984 and 2004 (with a low base of 3.3 million in 1984). More importantly, the relative share of the rich category in the total population has decreased from 3.3 per cent in 1984 to 2.9 per cent in 2004. And, based on studies on economic criminalization and black economy, it can be argued that within the rich a minority group has been created who are super rich or, in other words, there may be 10 per cent among the rich who command 90 per cent of the wealth of total rich category.

Therefore, the balance of dynamics of socio-economic class structure in Bangladesh clearly depicts that, during the last twenty years, overall poverty situation has worsened: the middle class has shown a downward tendency with extended replenishment of the poor from the lower middle class, and that of the lower middle class from the mid-middle class; and wealth has been accumulated in the hands of a few rich (2.9% of total population, but may be 90% of their wealth in 10% of them). This worsening mass poverty and widening of inequality coupled with declining non-stable middle class and 'naked' super-richness of the few is the solid ground which has been created in Bangladesh, that forms the most fertile ground for both production and extended reproduction of religious communalism, militarism and fundamentalism of all spheres of life.

The above analysis permits us to conclude that although historical developments of over last few centuries do not indicate communalization of the economy, the anti-human development and anti-human welfare efforts of the recent past have strengthened the politico-economic basis of religious extremism and nourished all the conditions for strengthening the base for economic fundamentalism. And all the elements of so-called development within economic and political criminalization including globalization have accelerated the process.

### **Economics of Fundamentalism**

In post liberation Bangladesh, political power favouring people's welfare has not evolved. Autocracy or a parliament with vested interest of black money has come back to state power again and again. Economy has been criminalized and that has enhanced effective demand for criminalization of politics. The extent of criminalization of our economy can be indicated as follows: during last 34 years, a total of about US\$ 33 billion (Bd.Tk.2000 billion; 1US\$=Bd.Tk.60) of foreign loans and grants have come to Bangladesh officially. An estimated 75 per cent of these have been misappropriated by national-international vested interest groups<sup>10</sup> (nationally, the number of such criminals would be about 200,000 families with 1 million people). These people now produce black money equivalent to approximately US\$ 12 billion (Tk. 700 billion)<sup>11</sup> annually (which is one fourth of our national income). Estimates show that the total amount of black money produced in the country during the last 34 years would be equivalent to about US\$ 117 billion (Bd. Taka 7000 billion). These same agents of criminalized economy are involved in money laundering equivalent to about US\$ 5-7 billion (Bd.Tk. 300-400 billion) annually. These are the members of organized syndicates who are responsible for artificial price hike of essential commodities (food and non-food), who have accumulated an amount of US\$ 48 billion (Bd.Tk.2,851 billion) through this endeavor, during the last five years<sup>12</sup>. They are the bank loan defaulters of about US\$ 7 billion (Bd.Tk. 400 billion). These are the people many of who are involved in illegal trading of drugs and arms of high value. For any government procurement (under Annual Development Program), or in any big tender they have to be paid at least 20 per cent commission as rent for doing business in "their territory of influence". These people have unlawfully occupied around seven million acres of *khas* land and water-bodies. Some of these people are the owners of commercial shrimp firms (*gher*) who command over private armed brigades in the coastal belts. It is to be noted that, geographically, these costal belts are good breeding ground for religious extremists.



This economic criminalization has increased effective demand for political criminalization. And political criminalization has many faces: the economic criminals, for their self-interest, grab political processes and influence decision making institutions in such a way that it becomes impossible to conduct state affairs as per Constitutional norms. They finance concerned organizations and persons of mainstream power politics. They patronize graft and corruption. They play critical role in determining state budget allocation and enjoy the same. They grab everything — land, water, and even the judgment (verdict) of the court. They utilize the coverage of the religion, wherever needed, and of late, they do anything and everything in the name of religion. They 'purchase' the seats of the parliament — they know that depending on circumstances, by investing US\$ 167 thousand to US\$ 4.7 million (permissible limit for expenses by a candidate in National election is US\$ 8,333) they can "purchase" a seat in the parliament. And they go on practicing the same — in 1954 Parliament "business" people constituted four per cent in the parliament and now they constitute 84 per cent in the present parliament. Even the Election Commission do not know for certain what the "business" is. People have got no confidence in their heart in such criminals of politics and economics. Now there is no 'role model' in politics before people — such tendencies have created frustration and hopelessness among the masses. These factors have become extremely facilitative in creating 'space' for the spread of religious extremism and ultra communal fundamentalism<sup>13</sup>.

Primarily because of economic and political criminalization, people have either already lost or are increasingly losing confidence in the so-called democratic politicians, and at the same time, the progressive tendencies either have not evolved or are not evolving. When people become steadily endangered, they lose confidence in state institutions and when lack of confidence becomes the rule then greater part of the people increasingly and gradually become dependent on destiny. And this dependence on destiny is increasing in an agrarian economy, where 60 per cent of the farmers are effectively landless, and it shouldn't be forgotten that Islam here in East Bengal has evolved based on agriculture. The politics of Islamic fundamentalism is utilizing this vacuum. They have seen with their own eyes how communal forces even in a country like India, where democracy prevailed for long, have captured initially two-three seats in the parliament, and finally become successful in capturing state power in 10-15 years. In addition to others, these are some of the examples based on which they think that their dream of climbing to power in Bangladesh will come



into reality. They also know that to make their political power self-reliant, they need stable economic power of their own ("Egyptian experience"). It is based on this necessity of "economic power-based political process" that they practice different politico-economic organizational models in different places with an objective of capturing state power through formation of a cadre-based militant party (they call it "*Jihadi Party*"). And based on 'Khomeini experience' in Iran they argue both possibility and necessity of capturing state power. Therefore, in the whole process of transformation of once humanistic Islam in to political Islam, they have successfully assimilated the mythos of religion with logos of reality, and under the overall umbrella of an Islamist Political Party (with many branches including militant activists) pursue economic power-based political processes aimed at capturing the state power. Ideologically, they argue this process as a transformation from 'western modernity' to 'Islamic modernity, and they are confident about the success of this process in a country like Bangladesh.

In Bangladesh, fundamentalism is experimenting with the effectiveness of various politico-economic models with the help of cadre-based politics. This politico-economic organizational model of fundamentalism intends to create "an economy within the economy" and "a state within the state" aimed ultimately at capturing the state power. The following twelve constitute the key sectoral elements of the model: financial institution, educational institution, pharmaceutical-diagnostic and health-related institution, religious organization, trade and commercial establishment, transport related organization, real estate, news media and Information Technology, local government, NGOs, *Bangla Bhai* or JMB, *Jama'aetul Muzahideen* Bangladesh, *Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami*<sup>14</sup> (Bangladesh, HUJI-B) (and such program based organizations), and occupational/professional activity-based organizations including farmers and industrial workers (see diagram 1). Among these institutions not all are profit-earning (for example, local government and professional groups). In such case, cross subsidies are given, and in my opinion, they earn high profit even in non-profit organizations for example, *Bangla Bhai* project, where land revenue and extortion have been institutionalised.

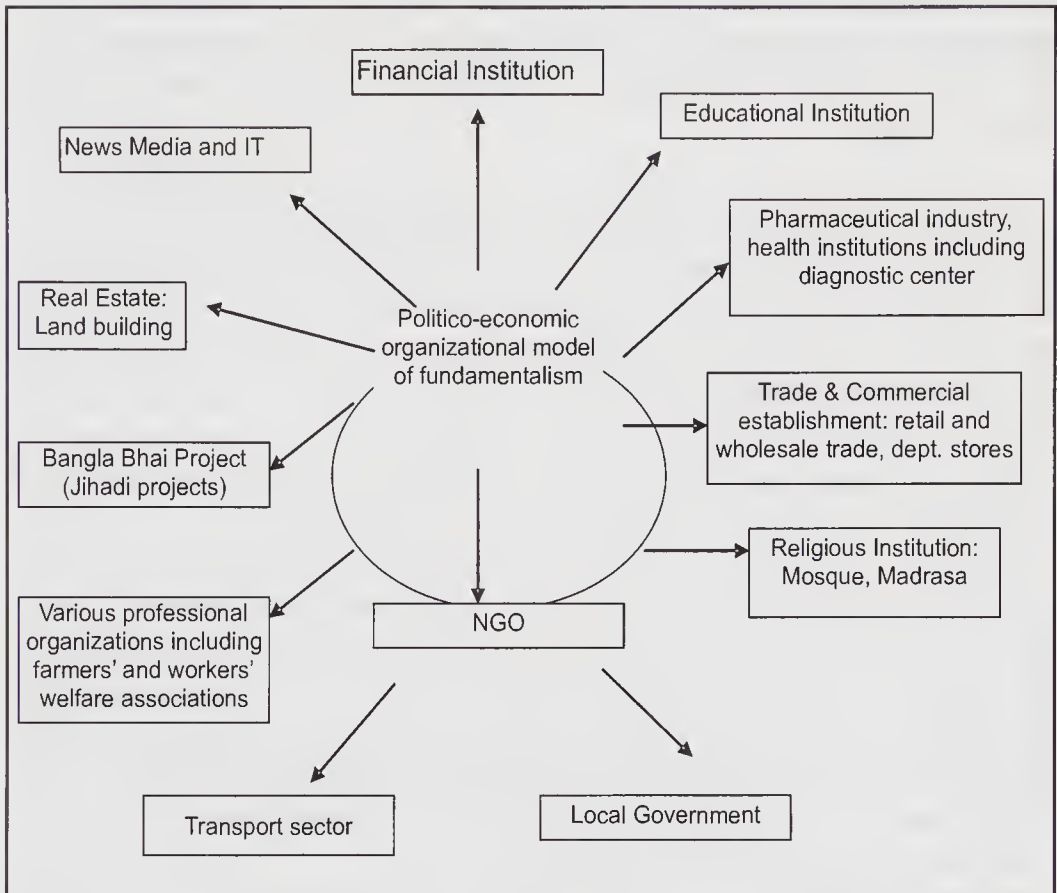
In some areas high profit is earned even in Madrasas, meaning at the end of the year income is higher than expenditure. Another good example is the recent registration of "*Chashi Kallayan Samity*" (Farmers Welfare Association) — the official peasant wing of the *Jamaat-e-Islami* — by the NGO Affairs Bureau. This is contradictory to the law of the land, which says

that “Political Party or their affiliates can not be registered with NGO Affairs Bureau which permits obtaining foreign fund for political activities”. Earning profit from not-for-profit organizations is a major strength of religious politics, which is possible because of perfectly exploiting people’s psychology of “dependence on destiny”. This can be concluded, based on the fact (among others) that most *Jihadis* (armed) caught by the police in the last few months (in Bangladesh) have categorically said to the press: “To do armed *jihad* is my right, and to participate in armed *jihad* is my responsibility as a Muslim. No one has the right to stop one from doing *Jihad*”.

### **Mainstream Islamist Party and Religious Extremists: Funding Sources**

The most recent country-wide horrible serial bomb blasts by Jama'atul-Mujahideen Bangladesh, JMB (on 17<sup>th</sup> August 2005, around 500 bombs were blasted within 30 minutes time between 9:00-9:30 AM targeting the offices of the Deputy Commissioners and Collectorate and Court buildings) prompted some experts to delink the connection between the bombers-organizations (e.g., officially banned JMB or JMJB) and the mainstream “Islamic” political party in Bangladesh. This disconnect is neither established, nor can it be established. On the contrary, connections and links are more probable. This is because of the following: not only the armed *Jihadis* but also the mainstream open “Islamic” party have declared common vision to “Capture State Power”; the party chief openly declared that “Islamic rule will be established soon” and “Wait and see.... Get ready for directive”; the mainstream open “Islami” party has not yet denounced the bombing activities and bombing organizations by name; almost all the militant activists and leaders of JMB arrested were the members of Jamaat-e-Islami or their student front, and financial transactions related to organizing the bomb attack have been made through their Bank accounts; and in almost all the cases, the mainstream islamist party has lobbied for the release of arrested militants using their administrative support and government machinery, and in most cases they achieved the lobby-target, but where they failed, they announced that the arrested militant had been expelled from the party earlier. Such news is frequently published in all the prominent Daily News papers in Bangladesh; the most recent being published in Prothom Alo, 21 September 2005, titled “Five JMP leaders arrested in Chittagong were involved with Jamat Politics; Tk. 160,000 was transacted through Islami Bank”; the Daily Star, 31 August 2005 “34 Islamic NGOs get over Tk.200 Cr. (US \$ 33 million) from donors a year”; the Daily Star, 22 September 2005 “Jamaat link to militants becomes evident”; the Daily Ittefaq, 26 September 2005 “Over 1000 militants have been released, and 40% of them belong to Jamaat-e-Islami”; the Daily Star, 5 December 2005 “Just days before the November 29 carnage on two court premises, the government gave consent to release a fund of about US \$ 333,333 (Bd.Tk.20 million) to the Bangladeshi branch of a Kuwaiti NGO, Revival Islamic Heritage Society (RIHS), which is at the top of the list of suspected donors to Islamic militants in the country”.

**Diagram 1**  
**The politico-economic organizational model of religious fundamentalism**



The above-mentioned organization models of economic fundamentalism differ significantly from usual business norms and strategies. The key characteristics of conducting the economic model-strategies of fundamentalism are as follows: 1) each model is run by ideologically motivated experts aiming at attaining their supreme political goal “capture state power”, 2) in each model, multi-faceted management procedures are applied, where policy matters are being controlled by political leadership, 3) although there is coordination among various models, mutual identification of the high level coordinators is kept sufficiently secret (may be regarded as a sort of a strategy of guerilla warfare), 4) each model is well coordinated and well-disciplined (follows the form of military discipline) following the profit spirit of private sector organizations, 5) whenever a model is found successful in realizing its politico-economic objectives, it is quickly replicated at different strategic places. Therefore, it can be argued that, in persuing their economic models,



the religious fundamentalists are politically fully conscious about their key aim of capturing state power, and they constantly try to use scientific means and methods in their own way for realization of the goal. This also implies that although the theologies and ideologies of fundamentalism are rooted in fear and get impetus due to increasing inequality, these movements are not just an archaic throwback to the past — they are innovative and modernizing<sup>15</sup>.

In terms of source of funding, some relevant experts in Bangladesh argue that the Islamist religious extremists procure the whole (or most) money from abroad for conducting their activities. This idea may be untrue to a great extent although they have joint collaboration in trade and commerce with foreign co-ideology investors. It is most likely that the major portion of the donations come from foreign source to and through the NGOs controlled by them. The above-mentioned hypothesis may not be correct to a large extent because religious fundamentalism has already been successful in building strong economic base of their own. This has happened or is happening as follows: ultra communal forces divided into many parties and activist groups have got substantial financial support from abroad (to conduct their activities) in 70s and 80's; they invested such resources to build relevant socio-politico-economic models (shown in Diagram 1). In most of the cases, their invested money earns high profit. They utilize a part of the profit to promote organizational activities<sup>16</sup>. A part of the profit has been spent for extension of the institution and a part has been spent for creation of new institutions.

The estimated annual net profit of economic fundamentalism in Bangladesh would be about US\$ 200 million (Bd. Tk.12,000 million). The highest share of such profit, 27 per cent (of total net profit) comes from financial institutions (bank, insurance company, leasing company, etc.<sup>17</sup>). The second highest, 20.8 per cent of total net profit comes from NGOs<sup>18</sup>, 10.8 per cent comes from trading concerns, 10.4 per cent profit comes from pharmaceutical industry and health institution including diagnostic centers, 9.2 per cent comes from educational institution, 8.3 per cent comes from real estate business, 7.5 per cent comes from transport business, and 5.8 per cent comes from news media and IT sector (see Table 3). Although the above net profit earning is largely based on heuristic estimates, the pattern is (at least) indicative of the directions. At the same time, this pattern of net profit earning by various sectors and sub-sectors of the fundamentalist economics is in congruence with the mainstream economic trends.



**Table 3**  
**Sector-Institution wise breakup of annual net profit of economic fundamentalists\* (estimated)**

Sector-Institution	Annual net profit	
	In US\$ million	Per cent
Financial Institution:	54.2	27.0
Bank, Insurance, Leasing Company.		
Business organization:	21.7	10.8
Retail, Wholesale, Departmental store		
Pharmaceutical Industry, Health	20.8	10.4
Institution including Diagnostic center		
Educational Institution:	18.3	9.2
School, College, University,		
Coaching Centres		
Communications:	15.0	7.5
Truck, Bus, Launch, Steamers, Ship,		
Car, Three wheeled CNG, etc.		
Real Estate: Land, Building	16.7	8.3
News Media, IT, Books and	11.7	8.5
Publications		
NGOs	41.6	20.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>100</b>

**About the Methodology of Estimation:** In estimating profit of economic sectors-institutions a heuristic method has been followed. Although the process is based on assumptions, the basis of estimation is scientific to a large extent. In this regard, expert opinion of various sectors has been taken. In some cases, the estimates may be more or less than the actual figure (real truth is not known to any one; that is not published.) Although, in case of a few sectors-institutions, formal data about investment is available (which is again not close to reality), in most of the cases such data are absent/unpublished. Although, in some cases the published audit report and/or annual report are available, in most cases, they are incomplete and highly inaccurate, and therefore, totally misleading.

If economics of fundamentalism earns a net profit of US\$ 200 million a year, in which case the degree of communalization of the Bangladesh economy indicating the strength-extent of economic fundamentalism will be equivalent to:

- 1.5% of annual national investment (in current price), or
- 2.1% of private sector investment in the country, or
- 3.3% of the government annual revenue collections, or

- 3.7% of the export earning of the country, or
- 6% of government annual development budget, or
- 12% of the internal resources of the annual development budget of the government.

At the same time, in understanding the future possibility of expansion of economy of fundamentalism, it is important to indicate that the rate of growth of economy of fundamentalism (annual growth rate of 7.5% to 9%) is higher than the annual growth rate of the mainstream economy (annual growth of 4.5% to 5%), and, therefore, as such, there is no doubt that, other things remaining the same, the communalization of Bangladesh economy will grow further.

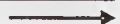
In the analysis of economics of fundamentalism, a few more things can be indicated with high certainty: 1) they have invested both for short term and long term benefits in the sectors in which it is possible to earn highest possible profit; this means that whatever interest they apparently display about the life hereafter, they are more conscious than anyone else about material life in this world, 2) they are more interested in strategic investment, 3) they have chosen such sectors for investment as allow them to reach more people with more speed, 4) their sector-wise investment framework is quite balanced, 5) it is possible for them to appoint 500,000 full time cadre in organizational activities with only 10 per cent of net profit (they do so and they provide cross subsidy to other sectors from the net profit), and 6) they (mis) use their political and economic power (using *Jihad* as pretext) for placing their ultra communal cadres in a planned way in the key strategic positions of the government, autonomous and semi-autonomous bodies, and in the private sectors.

A best 'proxy measure' to show the strength of economics of fundamentalism would be through analysis of the pattern and intensity of political actions of religious extremism. An analysis of such actions of the religious extremists in Bangladesh during the last five years shows rising tendency of relevant terrorist activities with some qualitative changes. Such changes include, among others, covert and overt actions, use of single-edged and double-edged weapons, etc. An analysis of terrorist acts of religious extremists permits one to conclude at least, the following: 1) Since they want to capture the state and change the culture the prime targets of their attack include institutions and persons representing key government administration (e.g. district commissioner), secular culture (theatre, cinema hall, folk gatherings, social gathering, community centre, library, shrine of Sufis), and judiciary (court), 2) the intensity of action is relatively less when

secular democratic government is in power, 3) intensity increases with fundamentalists presence in power, and 4) intensity will increase more in the near future if not stopped, and that might increase even if they are not in power-sharing situation because they follow the strategy : “consolidate strength while government buys time”.

**Table 4**  
**Chronology of Major Terrorist Acts of Religious Extremism in Bangladesh: 1999-2005**

Date of occurrence	Target act: nature and place	Visible loss
6 March 1999	Bomb explosion at cultural program of Udichi, Jessore	10 killed, 105 injured
8 October 1999	Bomb explosion on Ahmedia Mosque, Khulna	8 killed, 32 injured
20 January 2001	Time bomb explosion in CPB meeting, Dhaka	7 killed, 52 injured
14 April 2001	Bomb explosion on Pahela Baisakh (Bengali new year) celebration, Dhaka	11 killed, 120 injured
3 June 2001	Time bomb explosion in Church, Gopalganj	10 killed, 25 injured
16 June 2001	Bomb explosion on Awami League Office, Narayanganj	22 killed, 50 injured
16 November 2001	Killing of Hindu educationist, Principal Gopal Krishna Muhuri	Killed
21 April 2002	Killing of Buddhist monk, Gainjoti Mohathero	Killed
7 December 2002	Bombing in 4 cinema halls, Mymensingh	27 killed, 298 injured
17 January 2003	Bombing in Sufi Shrine, Sakhipur, Tangil	7 killed, 26 injured
12 January 2004	Bombing in Shahjalal Sufi Shrine, Sylhet	5 killed, 52 injured
27 February	Deadly attack on secular writer, Professor Humayun Azad (of Dhaka University)	Died after injury
21 May 2004	Bombing in Shahjalal Sufi Shrine, Sylhet	3 killed, 65 injured including British



2 April 2004	Deadly cargo, Chittagong: 2000 automatic/semi automatic weapons, 40 rocket-propelled grenades (RPG), 25,000 hand grenades, 1.8 million rounds of small arms ammunition. -	High Commissioner
21 August 2004	Grenade attack on leader of the opposition (Sheikh Hasina) in a public meeting: Biggest awakening.	24 killed, 503 injured
27 January 2005	Grenade attack in a public meeting of the opposition	5 killed including former Finance Minister SAMS Kibria (a member of Parliament, and former UN under Secretary General)
17 February 2005	Bombing on NGO offices (BRAC), Raipur, Naogaon	-
17 August 2005	Great awakening: 500 serial bombing across country in 30 minutes	(A highly coordinated terrorist activity)
2003-2005	Murder by Bangla Bhai group (JMJB), North Bengal	35 killed, 123 injured
3 October 2005	Bombing in 3 Court buildings (Chandpur, Laxmipur, Chittagong)	2 killed, 39 injured.
14 November	Bombing in Government residence, Jhalokhathi	2 killed, 4 injured
29 November 2005	Bombing in Lawyers Association Building, Gazipur	10 killed, 220 injured
29 November 2005	Bombing in a Police Bok, Chittagong	3 killed, 25 injured
1 December 2005	Bombing on Deputy Commissioner's Office, Gazipur	1 killed, 50 injured
8 December 2005	Bomb exploding on Udichi Cultural Office, Netrokona	8 killed, 100 injured

Source: Compiled by author based on media reporting



It would be appropriate to indicate a few more things associated with the expansion and prospect of economics and related politics of fundamentalism in Bangladesh. The fact is that, we were self-complacent — to a large extent — with our Independence following Liberation War 1971. The reason for this is self-explanatory. As a nation, we have seen for the first time that the whole nation building effort will follow the principles of democracy, nationalism, socialism and secularism. If religious feelings of the mainstream people are liberal and humanistic and if those have been ingrained in our mental frame for generations, in that case there will be all the good reasons to assume that those four principles are consistent with our dormant ambitions and aspirations, which can be termed “DNA factor”. The reason for our self-complacence could probably be: we were the first in the third world and particularly first in the Muslim majority countries to include secularism in the Constitution (of 1972, of course discarded later on with inclusion of “Islam will be the state religion”). We were satisfied with the reflection of our dormant aspirations in our Constitution. But religious ultra communal forces — the ‘war criminals’ and collaborators of Pak army whom we pardoned (and thus we became bearer of the mainstream Islam) — understood it clearly that the way the state was being run would make no fundamental change in the life of the people. They could foresee that our people would be de-motivated about the present leadership within few years. And if they make good use of the opportunity, their (the defeated forces in the Liberation War) victory would be certain. In contemporary periods, the pace of progress was relatively slow, but the religious forces were marching forward with relatively high speed and made all the preparations in secret. The result of such preparation was capturing the village by using deep tube-well centric society, peasant society, Mosque and Madrasa — whatever is the medium, establishing undisputed strong hold in religious institutions, capturing the state institutions, capturing the economic — activity based institutions, and in the name of private institutions taking position among the low income group people of the villages and towns and strengthened their presence. To execute this strategy, economic institutions of fundamentalists played the targeted role. Likewise due to adopting this strategy those institutions were also strengthened. And these generated synergistic effects. In this respect, religious fundamentalists were not idealistic in the least in giving political leadership; in fact, they were realistic and practical. Following this process, during half a century, they have now reached a position where they can get an average vote of 15,000 people in each of the seats of the parliament (an average of 75,000 votes needed to win a seat). At the same time, they have

now acquired the capacity to spend millions of black money and use of muscle power in national parliamentary elections. On the other hand, as displayed on August 17, 2005, they are well capable of organizing nation-wide serial bomb blasts, and that with 100 per cent military accuracy. By no means is this a weak opponent.

Therefore, the situation has reached a stage, which can be portrayed as below:

“the religious communal forces know for certain what they want. As against these we do not know what we want. They are well organized to achieve their goal, we are unorganized. They don't have any hesitation about their aim and object, as against this, we have confusions. They believe deeply in whatever they do. But it seems, we have lost confidence in ourselves. They are perfectly able to use the frustrations of the ever-growing unemployment among the youths to lead them to parochial interest. On the other hand, we are avoiding movement and struggle against poverty and frustrations due to unemployment among the youth. Our lack of clarity of thoughts, inactions, and disunity became helpful for the defeated forces” (Barkat, 2004b).

### **Economics and Politics of Islamist Extremism: Limits to Growth**

Historically speaking, the role of war in some places, peaceful way in some other areas, and the mixture of the two in other places in propagation of various religions including Islam is well known. It is notable that wherever sword-war was used for propagation of a religion, outcomes were either the establishment of monarchy or an aggressive state. But wherever a religion was propagated in a relatively peaceful way — for example in our country where the Ulemaa's, Sufi's and Devotees propagated Islam — in such places religion based on ultra communal politics could not get a strong root. To the contrary, wherever the religious leaders tried to conduct the statecraft with the help of religion, they faced opposition. This is most likely due to the fact that as a result of peaceful propagation of religion and following religious rites, people have become religious-minded (pious) over generations but they never became fake religionists. This means that the perception of religion, i.e., religiosity has become the vehicle for communal harmony to a large extent as against communalism. This deep sense of harmony based on humanitarian essence of religions is evident in the origin of Islam in East Bengal. And the evolution of such a process has deeply ingrained itself into the minds of Bengali-Muslims (which I term as “positive DNA factor”). That is why whatsoever strength economic

fundamentalism may have acquired in Bangladesh it would not be possible for them to capture the state power by using that economic strength. In this regard three examples may be relevant: 1) in this country, due to the Enemy Property Act or Vested Property Act, a total of about 2.1 million acres of landed property of five million Hindus have been grabbed by only 0.4 per cent Muslims (if the snatchers are all Muslims at all). This means that 99.6 per cent Muslims are not involved in grabbing landed property of people belonging to the other religions (some people try to show it as a Hindu versus Muslim affair), 2) whatever help the state might have given to the communal fundamentalists of *Baghmara-Bangla Bhai* (JMJB), people of the locality unitedly faced them. This is the outcome of dormant feelings of non-communalism among the majority Muslims of Bangladesh, 3) In 1985 when the roof of the huge dormitory of Dhaka University, Jagannath Hall collapsed, people irrespective of their religious identity came forward to donate their blood to save the wounded students all of who were Hindus by religion. That probably indicates the unlimited power of non-communal feelings among the majority Muslims in Bangladesh.

The greatest danger in the rise of politics and economics of fundamentalism in Bangladesh lies in the institutionalization of fundamentalism implying organized penetration of Islamist fundamentalists forces (with ideology assimilating mythos of religion with logos of reality) in all key spheres of life and state operation, namely in economic sectors, in political institutions, in key positions in the administration and judiciary, in government, autonomous, semi autonomous bodies and private sectors, in educational institutions with predominance in Madrasha system, in health, in NGOs, in women's organizations and in many professional bodies. Because of their command over 5-7 per cent votes (more importantly, their rate of casting is almost 100%), within an equi-strength bi-partisan political system (the two major political parties in Bangladesh are Awami League and Nationalist Party) the major mainstream Islamist party is strategically well positioned in forming the government after national parliamentary election. And they use this strength to their advantage in further institutionalization of Islamist fundamentalism. The degree of this institutionalized strength of religion-based fundamentalism is evident, among others, in their following recent statements:

- “1971 and 2006 are not the same”;
- “We are not a drop of water on betel leaf that a nimble touch would just make us fall”;



- “You will misjudge our strength if you try to understand us by number of our seats in the parliament”;
- “Wait and see Islamic shariah rule will be established soon”;
- “Suicide is a great sin in Islam, but it is permissible in “Jihad”;
- “Man made Constitution should be replaced by the Shariah Laws”.

In addition to the above stated, the relative strength of institutionalized fundamentalism is also evident in the formation and operation of Islamic Shariah Council against the will of the Central Bank (the Bangladesh Bank). This Islamic Shariah Council — the central policy making body of all Islamic financial institutions — is a body fully controlled by the mainstream Islamist party and headed by the Pesh Imam (the head) of the National Mosque, who is a government servant, who openly preaches in favour of implementation of Shariah rule through mosque-based administration and judiciary. This Islamic Shariah Council is an illegal entity according to the Company Act and Banking Act operating in Bangladesh. The Central Bank's attempts to ban this Islamic Shariah Council and even the attempt to institute a “guideline for “Islamic banking” in Bangladesh could not be materialized due to Islamist party's strong presence in the government. And finally, the most recent attempt to pass a law in the parliament “Against religious extremism” ended up with a gross failure.

The danger of fundamentalism lies — in addition to its institutionalization — in the ‘logos’ part of its political ideology reflected in their pragmatic (‘beyond-dogma’) actions. This is evident, among others, in the following ‘realistic’ strategic political statements of the mainstream Islamist party:

- “Women leadership (as head of the state and/or government) is not recognized in Islam, however, women leadership is acceptable if we are in alliance with party-in-power”;
- “Profiteering (bank interest) is a sin in Islam, however, it is allowed if our financial institutions practice profiteering with a different name”;
- “United States of America is enemy of Islam, but US intervention in Iraq is not a problem if we are in power (in Bangladesh)”;
- “India is an enemy State, but there is no problem in signing an unjust contract/ agreement if we are in power (in Bangladesh)”.

The secular and humanistic origin of Islam in East Bengal provides



adequate rationale to be complacent about future secular development of Bangladesh. However, in reality, there is no logical room for complacency. This is because, on the one hand, the politics of Islamist extremism is based solely on dogma and devoid of any reasoning and, on the other, the economic power based political process has already been institutionalized, to a large extent. Both economy of fundamentalism and politics of religious-militant extremism have gone too far; and damage can be irreversible if not addressed timely and intelligently. For many countries in the world including for us in Bangladesh, this is ultimately an issue of building a progressive society for our future generations. Therefore, the fight is more political than just intellectual. The way the basis of economics of Islamist extremism has extended and is expanding the fight has to be total, all encompassing, multi dimensional and multi faceted. This fight is against regressive mind-set by the progressive forces, and for the Sufis, Devotees and enlightened religious learned persons, this is a fight against anti-humanist communalism for reestablishing the humanistic trend of Islam in East Bengal. Therefore, in this fight, on the one side, to face the ultra communal parochial trends of Islam the humanistic proponents of Islam, the Sufi's and Ulemaa's must stand up as they are historically the proponent of mainstream Islam; they should unite; and on the other hand, secular non-communal feelings and free thinking which form the basis of liberty and freedom should pave the way for expanding the humanistic state system. This can be the only way to weaken the undesirable economic basis of fundamentalism and associated religious extremism. Economics of fundamentalism and related ultra communal politics — both are backward. Therefore, to remove such religion-mediated backwardness and to ensure progress, there is no alternative but to devote all out efforts towards uniting people on the basis of the true process of enlightenment.

### **The Way Out**

The expanded religious fanaticism, armed communalism and associated fundamentalization of economy is not a simple social problem *per se* (among many other problems), it is rather indicative of a deep rooted crisis of embattled faith rooted in increasing inequality and fear. This crisis emanated from politics of communalism and economics of fundamentalism can be overcome only through enlightened political movement guided by courageous patriotic leadership backed by substantive public actions. I see the seeds of success in both in the essence of evolution of Islam in East Bengal which is secular, humanistic, and democratic, and in the Bangladesh people's history of already displayed

strength in fighting odds against liberty and freedom. One should not forget and discount the fact that Bangladesh people fought successfully for their right to language (1952), right to say no to neo-colonial governance (1954), right to upsurge (1969), right to liberate and enjoy independence (1971), and right to throw out military autocracy (1990). The ground for hope is historically fertile in Bangladesh. The only thing needed is to timely and appropriately cultivate the ground based on the spirit of democracy, secularism, nationalism and equity — the foundation stones of 1971 Liberation War and the basis of 1972 Constitution of Bangladesh. In the long run, fighting religious extremism by keeping the masses underpowered and poor is an improbable proposition. It is high time to devise the most appropriate strategy to simultaneously negotiate rising religiosity with rising inequality — a difficult practical issue to resolve because one breeds the other.

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup> Crisis of dollar economics has many dimensions. Dollarisation of economy has led Latin America, South-East Asia, and many developing countries of South Asia to crisis situation (Stiglitz 2002). In this regard special mention may be made that United States is the most powerful but highly indebted country of the world. Imports of United States are a few times larger than its exports. To make up the gap, US economy has to depend to a large extent on foreign lenders. Current account deficit of United States, is on average US \$ 500 billion a year. In this process, indebtedness of USA stands at \$2 trillion at present, which is more than 20% of their GDP. At present US economy has to repay on average \$200 billion with a rate of interest of 3% per annum. If the indebtedness continues at the present rate indebtedness of USA in the year 2010 will stand at 65% of its GDP. Without new taxes imposed on US citizens, the budget deficit of USA will go on increasing.

<sup>2</sup>War, in most cases, is a profitable business. It should be noted that, USA spends more on military expenditure (\$375 billion per year) than rest of the world combined together. Economist Nordhouse may make rigorous exercise and say that USA may suffer a loss of \$200 billion to \$3,000 billion in Iraq war. In fact, this loss is not a real loss. Milton Friedman has put up a long list and stated that the war will benefit the world and world economy will boom. Lots of armaments are being sold. The business for reconstruction of Postwar Iraq has got momentum. Generally after a major war, business on arms and ammunitions goes on robust way in the third world. This is also taking place and if nowhere else this is taking place in countries with kingship in “good autocratic country”. This may be kept in mind, that most of the imperialist countries are energy dependent and energy security of those countries constitute a key determinant of long-run development. The best routes of oil geography are oil of the middle Asia, oil route of Afghanistan, oil of Iraq etc. `War

for Oil' is central to US strategy in Iraq. Iraq has the second largest oil reserves in the world, and Iraqi oil is very easily accessible and cheap. "If you control Iraq, you are in a very strong position to determine the price and production levels (not too high, not too low) to undermine OPEC, and to throw your weight around throughout the world. This has nothing in particular to do with access to the oil for import into the United States. It's about control of the oil... In the Middle East, the United States wants control". (Chomsky 2005 : 5-7).

<sup>3</sup>The Rise of Islam and Bengal Frontier-1206 to 1760' by Richard Eton quoted from Saiyid Sultan's epic poem "Nabi Bangsa".

<sup>4</sup>Because of enactment of this inhuman communal act in 1965 and its continuation till 2001 (as "Vested Property Act") about 5 million people belonging to Hindu community have lost 2.1 million acres of land property (details see, Barkat A et.al, 2000).

<sup>5</sup>"Hat me biri mu me pan – Larke lenge Pakistan" – the causes behind popularity of this slogan can be traced as a result of interplay of two factors, namely about 200 years of colonialism and exploitation of the feudal lords in East Bengal, most of who were Hindus.

<sup>6</sup>"Yee Azadi Jhuta Hai Lakho Insan Bhukha Hai".

<sup>7</sup>Economic idea about poverty is mostly narrowly defined one indicating income poverty or food poverty (measured in terms of direct calorie intake or cost of basic needs). Poverty, which creates space for fundamentalism should be viewed in a broader sense as a complex interrelated domain of the following: income poverty, poverty due to hunger, poverty due to low wage, poverty due to unemployment, poverty due to lack of shelter, poverty due to lack of access to public resources including rights to khas land, poverty due to lack of education, poverty due to ill health, poverty mediated through environmental hazards, political poverty (due to lack of political freedom), poverty due to lack of transparency guarantee, poverty due to lack of protective security, poverty mediated through various forms of marginalization (e.g., among religious minorities, indigenous peoples, poor women, slum dwellers, char people, rickshaw-van pullers etc.), and poverty of mind set (details see Barkat 2006b).

<sup>8</sup>Details about impact of electricity on rural poverty see, Abul Barkat (2005a), "Bangladesh Rural Electrification Program: A Success Story of Poverty Reduction through Electricity".

<sup>9</sup>Details about "not urbanization per se but slumization" see, Abul Barkat and S Akhter (2001). "Mushrooming Population: The Threat of Slumization Instead of Urbanization in Bangladesh".

<sup>10</sup>For details see, Abul Barkat (2001), "How Much Foreign Aid Does Bangladesh Really Need: Political Economy of Last Three Decades".

<sup>11</sup>For details, see Abul Barkat (2005e), "On Price Hike of Essential Commodities and Human Development Within the Context of Political Economy of Criminalization".



<sup>12</sup>For details, see Abul Barkat (2006b), "A Non-poor's Thinking about Poverty: Political Economy of Poverty in Bangladesh".

<sup>13</sup>See for details; Abul Barkat (2005d), "Criminalization of Politics in Bangladesh" and (2005f) "Right to Development and Human Development: The Case of Bangladesh".

<sup>14</sup>These program-based Islamic fundamentalist organizations are primarily the militant fronts of the mainstream Islamist Party. There are over 50 such Islamist militant-extremist groups in Bangladesh, the most prominent ones are as follows: Al-Harat Al-Islamia, Allar Dal Brigade, Al-Markajul Al-Islami, Al-Jihad Bangladesh, Ahle-Hadis, Al-Kurat, Al-Islami Martyars Brigade, Al-Khidmat, Amirate-Din. Al-Sayeed Majaheed Bahini, Al-Tanjeeb, Arakan Majaheed Party (and other groups carrying 'Arakan' names), Harkat-ul Jihad, Harkat-ul-Islam Al-Jihad, Hijbut Tawheed, Hijbut Tahrir, Islami Biplobi Parishad, Iktadul-Talah Al-Muslemin, Jama'aetul Majahideen Bangladesh (JMB), Jaggrata Muslim Janata (JM), Joyshe Mohammad, Joyishe Mostafa, Jangi Hakikat, Jamaeet-ul Falayia, Jamaat-e-Yahiya Jummatul Al-Sadaat, Sahadat-e-Al-Hikma, Shahadat-e-Nobuyot, Hizabullah Islami Samaj, Hizbul Mahadi, Ibtadatul Al-Muslemia, Jamiayeete Islami Solidarity Front, Rohingya Independence Force (and other groups carrying 'Rohingya' name), Tahfize Harmayin, Khedmate Islam, Islahul Muslemin, Islami Liberation Tiger, Ta-Amir Ud-Din, Tauheedi Janata. All of these militant groups receive funding and other support from both external sources and domestic economy of fundamentalism.

<sup>15</sup>Fundamentalism is a child of globalization, which it both responds to and utilizes. Fundamentalist groups everywhere have made extensive use of new communications technologies. Before he came to power in Iran, the Ayatollah Khomeini circulated videos and cassettes of his teachings. Hindutwa militants have made extensive use of the Internet and electronic mail to create a 'feeling of Hindu identity' (Giddens 2003:50-51).

<sup>16</sup>This include expenditure on account of salary to the political workers, expenditure in connection with conduct of day to day political activity, and running arms training centers (foreign ministry of India have accused that there are 148 arms training center for the fundamentalists in Bangladesh. This accusation has not been denied formally. Similar accusation has been made by United States and European Union. The present government's position on the existence of such arms training center in Bangladesh was unclear until 17th August 2005 (i.e.. until the day of countrywide serial bomb blasts). The government until that period used to say that "JMB and JMJB does not exist, these are creations of media and political opposition". However, after 17th August incidence the government was forced to change her position: from non-recognition to tacit recognition of existence of militant activities. The print and electronic media – during the last few weeks – have been openly disseminating information about such arms, explosives, relevant leaflets and booklets, training centers with photo of trainers etc.

<sup>17</sup>The link between Islamic Bank (the local bank with highest amount of market



capitalization among all local banks) and the religious militant groups has been clearly evident in the fact that because of this link this Bank got the highest punishment under the Money Laundering Act by the State Bank (Bangladesh Bank) in 2006.

<sup>18</sup>In Bangladesh there are about 450 NGOs under the control of the Islamist fundamentalists. The ten most prominent Islamic NGOs having links with extremist activities include Revival of Islamic Heritage Society (RIHS), Rabita Al-Alam Al-Islami, Society of Social Reforms, Qatar Charitable Society, Al-Muntada Al-Islami, Islamic Relief Agency, Al-Forkan Foundation, International Relief Organization, Kuwait Joint Relief Committee, Muslim Aid Bangladesh. Most part of their external financial support comes from middle-east. Many receive financial support even from the developed countries. This has been found that in many cases they receive money direct, the accounts of which are absent in Government documents. The primary object of the NGOs under control of the fundamentalists is to reach the grassroots people using the platform of the institutions and subsequently establish and consolidate linkages between their political agenda and economic interest. When the mainstream NGOs are making effort of empowerment of women, the fundamentalists NGOs are not lagging behind. But they say, "Women empowerment has to be achieved under the veil".

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# 11

## *Issues of Peace and Development: The Case of Nepal* *Shankar P. Sharma*

*T*his is a crucial period in Nepal's history. After the participation of the Communist Party of Nepal, Maoist (CPN/M) in the interim Government of Nepal, in 2007 an opportunity to restore peace and revive the economy has become more feasible than before. However, it is clear that the process of recovery will be neither rapid nor simple and its eventual success will depend a great deal upon the stability of the government, commitment to development, efforts of all sections of society and the support and goodwill of the international community.

It is clear that much higher rates of economic growth will be needed in creating more jobs and improving living standards. Higher growth rates are also required not only to substantially reduce poverty, but also to carry out the necessary reconstruction and rehabilitation and to ensure a permanent end to the conflict in the country.

## Nepalese Economy during Conflict (1996-2006)

Conflict, which escalated in 2001-02 had negative impact in the economy. It jeopardized service deliveries and reduced development activities. As a result, the country has seen downturn in development expenditure and private investment. Economic growth rate declined significantly. The country faced extraordinary challenges on development.

Average annual growth rate of Nepal during (2002-2007) was only 2.8 per cent, compared to 4.8 per cent during 1990s. Close to 30 per cent labor force are either unemployed or under employed and the labor productivity is the lowest in Asia. The growth rate achieved even in the 1990s was not sufficient to provide employment even to the increased labour force. On the other hand most of the Asian countries were growing, annually at rates higher than six per cent in the first half of 2000s. Developing Asia grew by more than eight per cent per annum during the same period. The challenges of the economy however, are enormous.

Despite politically difficult situation, Nepal's achievements in many socio-economic indicators, between 1996 and 2004 remained satisfactory. The incidence of poverty fell from 42 per cent to 31 per cent mainly because of rapid increase in remittances income, increase in agricultural wage rates, speedy urbanization, and reduction in dependency ratio during the same period.

Similarly, the progress in education, health and drinking water was still reasonable. Net enrollment increased to 87 per cent in 2005 compared to 84 per cent in 2004. Drop out rates and girls enrolment improved and the survey results show that school participation rose by 22 per cent and literacy increased by 28 per cent during the same period. Some additions in government expenditure on education, increased investment from rise in private sector investment in opening of new schools as a result of liberal government policies, growing awareness of households and reduction in poverty are some of the fundamental reasons of these achievements. The number of people served by improved drinking water increased from 73.5 per cent in 2004 to above 75 per cent in 2005. Priorities were also given to connectivity to some of the topographically difficult areas and the results have been positive.

Pro-poor expenditure as a percentage of total development budget increased from 27.5 per cent in 2003 to 34.3 per cent in 2005. Survey recently carried out by World Food Program shows that the food insecurity situation has not worsened in the country; the percentage of vulnerable people associated with hunger and similar other indicators has not been enlarged.



The gains in health outcomes have also been significant. Immunization rate has gone up to 85-90 per cent. Child mortality fell by almost 28 per cent, resulting in the decline of under five mortality from 118 to 91 per 1000 lives between 1996 and 2004. Significant progress has also been observed in the reduction of infant mortality rates and improvements in the indicators related to maternal mortality rates. These gains can be attributed to higher household incomes, the success of some of the supportive health programs like immunization and Vitamin A programs, increase in the level of health awareness, improvement in health facilities and road networks and increase in public spending in health sector.

Good progress has been made in poverty reduction in all ethnic groups and development regions, but inequality increased mainly because of the increasing gap between middle class and the rich.. Despite significant improvements, disparities among the regions and various groups of people are still high.

Decentralization has been taken as one of the important means not only to bring development closer to the rural people to address the local needs, but also to ensure flexibility in implementation. All budgets going to the local bodies (through the Ministry of Local Development), most of which used to be given to them for centrally approved, pre-identified programs and projects are now being provided to them under the categorization of conditional or unconditional grants. Expenditures going from other ministries are also being channeled through local agencies and activities are decided at the local level. The budget that went directly to rural areas increased by an average growth rate of 30 per cent between 2003 and 2005 and the amount of conditional and unconditional grants increased by 120 per cent between 2003 and 2005. Similarly, development partners have also started following similar mechanism in resource allocation and disbursement.

In order to help strengthen people's ownership of development projects and programs and to expedite income-generating activities, use of communities, partner organizations and NGOs were expanded. The budget going through such mechanisms has increased by more than two times in 2005. Success rate in the implementation of these activities where people identified, owned and implemented the programs is extremely high. Some of the activities implemented through these modalities involve the construction of rural infrastructures carried out through local bodies, rural water supply schemes, activities carried out under the program of poverty alleviation fund and micro-hydro program.

The government has started transferring schools and health posts, which were traditionally run by the central Government to the local management committees comprising of the local people, to improve the smooth functioning of these institutions. The idea is to improve the outcome of the school by creating school management committees and parent-teacher association and rerouting funds directly to schools through them.

Foreign employment has not only been one of the major sources for poverty alleviation, but also for absorbing increased unemployed labor force and displaced people in Nepal. Preliminary numbers shows that the number of people going for overseas employment is estimated to increase by more than hundred per cent in 2006.

### **Government Plan and Policies**

The Government has prepared Three Year Interim Plan (2007/08-2010/11) for the post-conflict development. This Plan puts special emphasis on increasing public expenditure to assist relief and generate employment as well as on peace building, reconstruction, rehabilitation, reintegration, inclusion, and revitalization of the economy. Similarly, the Plan gives special attention to the overall development of women, dalits, indigenous groups, Madhesi (Tarai) community, and the poor, inhabitants of Karnali area (geographically isolated and poor area) and people of remote areas who have been excluded from the country's economic, social and regional development process.

The main goal of the interim plan is to prepare a basis for economic and social transformation for building a modern, prosperous and just Nepal and the main objective of this Plan is to realize change in the life of people by reducing poverty and existing unemployment and establishing sustainable peace. To achieve the objectives of the Plan, the following strategies are being adopted:

- Special emphasis to relief, reconstruction and reintegration,
- Creation and expansion of employment opportunities,
- Increase Pro-poor and broad-based economic growth,
- Promotion of good-governance and effective service delivery,
- Increase investment in physical infrastructure,
- Adopt an inclusive development process, and
- Carry out targeted programs.

To support the strategies, the following priority areas have been identified in the Plan:

- Physical infrastructures will be reconstructed and rehabilitated, and people affected by conflict will be provided relief, rehabilitation and social reintegration.
- Investment will be increased to support development through inclusion of excluded communities, regions and gender excluded from all structures, areas and processes of development.
- In order to revitalize national economy, investment will be increased in physical infrastructures supporting agriculture, tourism and industry
- Priority will be given to electricity development.
- Priority will be given to infrastructure development like roads, irrigation and communication.
- Investment will be increased in the sectors of education and health for human resource development.

In this Plan the annual average economic growth rate is projected to be 5.5 per cent, which will increase per capita income by 3.3 per cent, and employment by 3.5 per cent, on an average, annually. The agriculture sector is expected to grow by 3.6 per cent and non-agriculture sector by 6.5 per cent. During the project period, the average rate of inflation is expected to be 5.6 per cent. The population living under the poverty line is projected to be reduced from 31 per cent in the beginning of the Plan to 24 per cent by the end of the Plan.

However, the main challenges to achieve the targets set by the government lies with the political stability and implementation. It will be difficult to achieve higher growth rates and generate employment without effective implementation of policies and strategies developed. Implementation can be improved by improving overall governance, effective execution of budget, capacity building and monitoring mechanisms. These are some of the priorities government has to stress in the coming days.





**SECTION III**  
*Democratic Governance  
and Decentralization*



# 12

## *Democratic Governance and Decentralization for Peace and Development: The Indian Experience*

*D.P. Chattopadhyaya*

*I*n every person there is a bipolarity of individualism and collectivism. Strictly speaking, human beings, obviously including ourselves, the Indians, are multipolar. For the sake of simplicity we explicitly mention only the two main identities of our being, individualistic and collectivistic. A little psychological-cum-social analogical analysis will show that we are not only self-centric in some respects but also other-oriented several aspects.

To start with, every person belongs to a family — biological, communitarian etc. Smaller human aggregates are tribal of varying size and complexity. If we like to put the matter from the other end: it may be easily pointed out that every internationalist or every person endowed with a cosmopolitan outlook has his/her affiliation, however implicit that may be, to some or other ethnic group, religious group, national or sub-national aggregate. Those of us who claim our basic identities as religious Hindu or

Muslim, or regional as Punjabi or Bengali, and similar other aggregative entities, are simultaneously have other identities of limited or narrower scope. Among those identities one may refer to regional, caste-based and other sub-national or even transnational identities.

The transition of a colony, in this case India, from its colonial past to post-independence democratic governance involves careful consideration of its several aspects, historical, political, religious and ethnic, among others. We are required to bear in mind that though India is ordinarily known as a country, its dimension and diversity are continental. Geographically speaking, as we know, it is very large. Some of its parts, like southern parts of the Peninsula, are extremely warm, but these areas ordinarily receive heavy rainfall, in many cases twice a year, in summer and winter. The western parts of Rajasthan are desert-like and distressingly deficient in rainfall. Northern parts of India, particularly the Himalayan and Sub-Himalayan territories are very cold and are suitable for all types of major crops round the year. The areas washed by major rivers like the Indus, Ganges, Yamuna, Brahmaputra, Narmada, Godavari, Krishna and Kaveri are more or less fertile, yielding rice, wheat, maize, corn etc. Also we have there commercial crops like cotton and jute. The fertility factor has also its negative aspects. Because of heavy rainfall, most of the lands by the banks of these rivers are subjected to flood havoc causing damage to the crops and other properties.

The human geography of the country like its natural geography is also highly uneven. The failure of rain or inadequate rain in some years leads to crops failure and as a result of which the concerned peasants, driven to unbearable distress, even commit suicide.

Many of the problems of modern India — social, political and economic — are rooted in its extremely complex human geography. One is struck by the number of languages which experts like A. Grierson and Suniti Kumar Chatterjee have recorded and listed. If the dialects of the concerned languages are taken into account, the picture appears vastly more complex. Since the days of Grierson and Chatterjee this striking phenomenon of linguistic multiplicity has assumed extremely problematic political character, posing serious threat to the governance of the country. For a proper understanding of the problems faced by the policy-makers of the Government of India we are obliged to look back to the past — colonial, medieval and even ancient. From the ethnographic point of view, the original inhabitants of this country, viz., Santhals, Kols, Nisads, Kirats, Jarwas and Ongis of Andaman and Nicobar Islands are now getting



reduced in number and, in most cases, increasingly poverty-stricken. If to the named tribes one adds those who are living in the North East India and the Himalayan foothills, the picture is bound to appear more grim and critical.

It is interesting to recall here that Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of Independent India, anticipated some of the serious consequences of these ethnic and linguistic diversity. That induced him to ask three famous anthropologists of the time, K. P. Chattopadhyay, Verrier Ellwin and N. K. Bose to form a team and study in depth and detail the problems of North East India, rather the then Assam, which was yet to be pulverized into numerous small States as we find them today. The far-sighted statesman in Nehru could foresee the future and problematic political and economic dimensions of North East India, marked by poverty, insurgency and demands for autonomy and independence, even in the late 1940s and 1950s.

In this matter he might have been influenced by the experience and decision of General MacArthur, who after the surrender of Japan in 1945 following the dropping of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was called upon by Harry S. Truman, the then President of the USA, to take over the administration of the defeated Japan, which for centuries remained extremely mighty and gifted in very many ways. MacArthur requested Ruth Benedict, the famous anthropologist of Columbia University, to study the historical past and cultural richness of the Japanese people. The resulting study, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, remains still a classic study on the two major aspects of the Japanese people, their martial spirit, symbolized by sword, and their delicate aesthetic sensitivity symbolized by Chrysanthemum had to be taken into account by a military ruler like MacArthur, who professionally belonged to armed forces and therefore considered himself not qualified and fit enough to preside over the governance of a country like Japan. Many Japanese people remained understandably proud and defiant even in defect.

Both racial purity and tribal exclusiveness are more theoretical in character than practical reality. Co-existence of different races in the same or neighbouring social space is bound to live together, remaining interactive, leading to intermixture of their members.

Religious conversion and the supervenience of the conquering people over the conquered ones, their unevenness and increase in the depth and detail of mutual interaction are among the factors which facilitate intermixture of different groups of peoples. This is not to deny the survival

of tribal identity of many tribes over a fairly long period. But the point to be noted in this context is this: when relatively small religious or/and tribal groups insist on maintaining their exclusiveness for ensuring identity that tend to affect their fertility and, therefore, their size and number get gradually dwindled. This can be convincingly illustrated with reference not only to the tribes like Jarwa and Ongi but also Parsis and Jews in India. The factors which contribute to fertility or affected adversely are not merely biological, i.e., hereditary or genetic, but also environmental, including both the natural and cultural factors. When people of a group feel isolated or alienated or withdrawn from its socially proximate groups, that influences its reproductive psychology and urge. For example, when Radcliff Brown, the famous British anthropologist, wrote his book, *Andaman Islanders*, at that time the number of Jarwas and Ongis were fairly high, 3000 to 7000. But at present in spite of many welfare measures which have been taken to bring them to the mainstream of the non-tribal inhabitants of the Islands their number has come down to a dangerously low level. To take another example: the demographic curve of the Parsis living in India has also been declined steadily. To take welfare measures to arrest this declining population problem does not seem to be very effective.

Problems about them vary from area to area. In the North East India, there are many tribes and their literature on the subject is impressive. In terms of education and earning the creamy layers of the people many of whom have embraced Christianity, learnt non-tribal languages like English and other Indian languages wield considerable political power. In many cases the leadership of insurgency in different areas of North East India is provided by the leaders of this section. It must be mentioned here that the Christian missionaries had done a lot to spread education and socio-political awareness among the people. The religious factors — Hinduism, Vaishnavism, Christianity and the old Tribal religions have added complexity, often encouraging the forces of conflict among the people.

Another factor which needs to be gone into for understanding the problems faced by India today. The concerned scholars are obliged to look into the colonial past of India. It may be recalled here that before Independence India had at least two, if not three, categories of States. Under the First category one must count three Presidencies, Bengal, Bombay and Madras. Secondly, there were many States besides the three just mentioned, which used to be directly governed by the British rulers. Thirdly, the native States formed a category by themselves in which the rulers were, though nominally independent, actually had to administer mainly the concerned areas under their rule following the British rules and regulations. In most of

these States, particularly in larger ones, a British Resident used to be stationed to oversee the affairs there.

The histories of India which were written during the second half of the eighteenth century, after the total collapse of the Mughal Rule in Delhi, to the middle of twentieth century, till 1947, when it became constitutionally independent, broadly speaking, may be profitably viewed under two types. Some of these histories are written from the colonizers' standpoints, keeping their interest and ends in view and the developing standpoints of the Indian writers, articulating the problems and sufferings of the colonized peoples and their growing aspiration for independence.

Within each of these two types of historical writings there are numerous shades of opinion, some stridently defending the importance of the white man's burden to improve and unify the Indian people which have been waging war between themselves for a long time. At the same time some pro-Indian historians of England, Europe, and of course of India itself have been highlighting the ill effects of the colonial rule. It may sound strange to the un-informed ears that the emergence of a relatively unified India was in the interest of the colonizers. But, rightly understood, it was clear that a stable and developing India could be more useful to the foreign rulers, particularly the British ones, for the purpose of trade and commerce to their own benefit. Vast, diverse and cheap raw materials had been a big attraction to the imperial rulers. Moreover the captive market for the value-added manufactured goods of the ruling country compounded doubly this attraction. It may be incidentally borne in mind that British administration in India could not be firmly established and expanded throughout India before the middle of the nineteenth century. To be more specific, one may indicate the cut-off period around 1857, the year of Sepoy Mutiny. Even if for the sake of argument it is admitted that Sepoy Mutiny is not to be understood entirely in terms of a well-organized patriotic rebellion and that it had some extraneous factors and facets in it, it can hardly be denied that the people of different parts of the country came considerably together to promote and strengthen the causes which found their simultaneous expression in the Mutiny. It is further confirmed by the official transfer of power from the East India Company to the British Crown itself and the establishment of the three Presidential Universities in that very crucial year, 1857, in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

Another factor which deserves emphasis in this connection is the understandable dissatisfaction of the Muslim community with the British rulers because of their understandable support to the Hindus, which formed the majority of the population. Sulking under the impact of defeat



and loss, the Muslim community which politically ruled and dominated the major parts of India for a long time, could not easily reconcile itself with the foreign rule. While a substantial part of the Hindus was getting close to the rulers, enjoining their patronage in different fields, the Muslims remained withdrawn and aloof from the British influence — administrative, educational and cultural.

Taking advantage of these power vacuum the thin section of educated Hindus started getting close to the British rulers, serving their political and economic interests. At the same time, it must be added, the more self-conscious part of the educated Hindus started realizing that the heritage of the country, not only that of the Hindus themselves, was being distorted and systematically weakened and erased but also of their communities. During the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly after the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1884, pro-nationalist forces, both Indian and European, started coming close to each other. In and through the literature of the country, growing influence of educational institutions and analytic economic histories of the British rule Indians started realizing the necessity of intensifying the struggle of freedom against the British rule.

Another development which took place around the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century was the growing realization of the educated section of the Muslims that it was not in their long-term interest to leave the political space entirely to the Hindus. Several Muslim leaders and thinkers started highlighting the importance of availing themselves of the positive aspects of the British education and administration. The so-called Aligarh Movement was the symbolic shift of interest in the thinking and activities of the Muslims. Many of them even started realizing that cooperation between the Hindus and the Muslims would be in the interest of the country as a whole in its struggle for independence. This realization marks a significant shift in the history of national consciousness. Gradually the Hindu-Muslim divide started narrowing down.

From the second decade of the twentieth century, particularly from the days of Khilafat Movement and appearance of Gandhi as the leader of the Indian National Congress, there started appearing in the national scene a conscious effort to mobilize together the forces of two major communities of India.

Unless it is done, the foresighted leaders of both the communities started realizing that if this exercise is not taken forward successfully, the post-independent India will not be an ideal state to live in.



Another factor which started asserting itself is the growing dissatisfaction of the Dalits, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Exploited for centuries both under the foreign rule and the rule of Hindus and Muslims, these sections of people started feeling the necessity of carving out a political space for itself. All these factors, taken together, made even the pre-independent Indian socio-political scene very complex from the point of view of governance.

The independence of the partitioned India based on the Two-Nation Theory of the Muslim League unleashed a complex set of forces which deserves not only simple criticism or endorsement but also, perhaps more so, deep and objective understanding.

The map of India which came into existence in 1947 following partition and Independence, did not conform to any basic principle or set of principles — ethnic, religious or linguistic. To organize or reorganize the highly complex territories denoted by South Asia was indeed very difficult. This difficulty was there even in the earlier stages of history of the sub-continent. Time and again, the territorial boundaries of and within South Asia changed for a variety of causes — both of external origin and of internal origin. In most cases, the causes were complex or composite — partly internal and partly external.

Therefore the post-Independent Government, headed by Nehru, when set up the State Reorganization Committee for administrative and economic reasons, the Committee realized the enormity and complexity of the task assigned to it. The complexity was compounded by the principle of the division or Partition of India, i.e., the Two-Nation Theory of the Muslim League which, though reluctantly, was accepted by the Congress Party. One immediate negative fall-out of the Partition was incursion of the armed Muslim Tribals, supported by the Pakistan Army, into Kashmir. The ruler and the majority of the population of Kashmir were Hindus. But the suddenness and scale of the incursion gave rise to very complex and grave situation. Belatedly, the Hindu King of Kashmir agreed to sign the instrument of accession of the State to India notwithstanding the Muslim-majority demographic composition of the State. To contain the external incursion or aggression a large number of combat soldiers had to be airlifted to Kashmir for repulsing the hostile intruders. Though the attack was repulsed, the issue was not solved and it had to be taken to the United Nations. An interim Line of Control [LoC] was agreed upon much against the public opinion of both India and Pakistan. While Pakistan had been demanding a Plebiscite, India was insisting on withdrawal of the Pakistani

soldiers from the other side of the Kashmir. Besides the Kashmir problem, which has been lingering till date, some other erstwhile native States like Hyderabad also refused to officially accede to India. Force had to be used for the purpose.

Another major problem which followed Partition and Independence was widespread communal riots and migration of communities from Pakistan to India and from India to Pakistan. In those communal riots many people were persecuted and killed, and the properties of the minority communities in both the States was looted and destroyed. This unprecedented human tragedy created almost unmanageable administrative and economic problems and the peace-loving and right-thinking people on both the sides of the borders experienced untold sufferings and deeply resented the situation. Mahatma Gandhi and several other leaders and followers of Pacific persuasion tried to pacify the communally infuriated peoples. In spite of the efforts of the peace-loving leaders and their followers the traumatized minorities of both Pakistan and India started migrating on a mass scale.

Neither the United Nation could settle the Kashmir problem nor many native States could be easily persuaded to join India. The strong policy of the then Home Minister of India, Sardar Patel, could somewhat control the situation at the administrative level, i.e., externally. But the simmering effects of partition of the Indian sub-continent demanded some in-depth policy decision. Even if it is admitted that the State Reorganization Committee, referred to above, succeeded in imparting a semblance of geographical coherence to the reorganized States, it was clear that the task was left incomplete. In fact, this task was too complex to be completed at one stroke.

The events I am mentioning here and which took place, mainly, between 1947 and 1957, had and still have direct bearing on the issues pertaining to the governance of India. The only one major event which I am not mentioning here is the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent state, separating itself from West Pakistan. This development, though not internal to India, continued to have its bearing on India right since 1971, the year in which it came into existence. The establishment of Bangladesh highlighted, among other things, that religion by itself cannot, rather should not, be the sole basis and establishment or existence of a state, and that spread of education tends to weaken the claim of religion the exclusive criterion of sovereign political state. As stated earlier, all humans have multiple identities in them — ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc. This simple

truth was not adequately understood by the rulers of the then (West) Pakistan and the resulting policies in administrative measures gradually started alienating the Hindus from the majority Muslim community, controlling then the state apparatus.

It may be recalled here that at the time of partition in 1947 and thereafter, for a fairly long time, approximately 15 years, the Dalit Hindus, many of whom opted to remain in East Pakistan on their perceived ground that their life under the Hindu [mainly the caste Hindus] domination would be worse than to live under the new political dispensation dominated by the Muslims. Those, including myself, who had witnessed the life of the Dalit communities in East Pakistan in pre-independent years, would bear it out that they had been subjected to many discriminations and indignities due to the economically and socially more powerful and dominating caste Hindus.

During 1950s and 1960s some major communal conflagrations broke out in East Pakistan and which alienated even the Dalits, who otherwise had been favourably inclined to Muslims. Another factor which influenced the Hindus, including both the Dalits and caste-Hindus, is the military dictatorship which emerged in Pakistan and the signs were clear that they would not be easily abdicating their power.

Thus the Bangladesh experiment from 1971 onward made it fairly clear that relatively more powerful — both economically and militarily — the West Pakistanis would not treat them as equal. Another problem which afflicted Bangladeshis which had not much to do with the religious or caste factor was demographic. Phenomenal increase in the size of population in Bangladesh, entailing economic distress, forced many of them to cross over to the neighbouring states like West Bengal, Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram and even Bihar, Jharkhand, Chattishgarh.

Let me revert back to the Indian political situation as it was there in 1950s to 1970s when the large states like Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madras-Andhra, Bihar and even Assam were not partitioned as we find the same today. Since those decades many states like Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Assam, Bihar witnessed a process of separation from the earlier and combined states. The establishment of separate states like Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Uttaranchal, Andhra Pradesh, Chattisgarh and Jharkhand, have made it abundantly clear that the concerned peoples want smaller states marked by their linguistic, ethnic, and other forms of cultural affinities. Even today there is a continuous demand for separate Vidarbha, separate Telengana, and some other territories attached to or included with



the relatively larger states. The implication of these demands on governance is obvious and manifold.

For the sake of good governance the relatively small-sized States are welcome on many grounds. Unfortunately this basic principle was not realized by the State Reorganization Committee in mid-1950s.

Subsequent development during the 1960s to 1990s, the decades marked, among other things, by the emergence of many relatively small States, growing insurgency, amounting to low intensity wars in some cases, uneven economic development and related factors raised many important questions about the quality of governance.

In this matter there cannot be general formula indicating the relation between the size of the State and the quality of governance. There are States like Switzerland which are multi-linguistic, in this particular case tri-linguistic, viz., French (East), German (North) and Italian (South). But the quality of governance seems to be substantially similar and quite satisfactory. Secondly, unity of language and unity of religion — be it Hindu, Christian, Muslim, or Confucian — cannot provide guarantee that the concerned people living in the same political space would be able to live in peace and prosperity — the two main acknowledged characteristics of good governance. The medieval Europe, particularly France, illustrates the point. Protestants and Catholics bitterly fought among themselves for a long period. This problem lingers, in varying forms, both in Ireland and Canada even during the last hundred years or so. In the large-sized States like the USA many ethnic groups of different religious and linguistic origins, have been living since the years of infamous Civil War in relative peace.

This is not to deny the unevenness of the levels — poverty and prosperity of different ethnic groups, especially black and white. The vast State of the USSR, before its disintegration in 1990 had, and still have, in it many ethnic groups like Slav, Caucasoid, Eskimo, Mongoloid, and different religious groups like Christian, Muslim and Buddhist. The dissolution of the Soviet Union after the collapse of its monolithic of various religious, ethnic and linguistic groups.

Interestingly enough, many different States belonging to the same religion have also bitterly fought against one another, both in the medieval age and in the modern age. The long-drawn conflict between Iran and Iraq in the recent past and the lack of cohesion between the Central Asian States may be recalled in this connection.



Micro-analysis of the factors underlying the relation between democratic governance, centralization and de-centralization do not lead us to a general principle or law ensuring peace and development concerning the related people and their administrative units.

This point can be convincingly illustrated in terms of what has happened in India both before 1947 and after. From the years of State reorganization to the relatively recent times when smaller States are in the process of formation and transformation we have been witnessing a set of complex forces at work.

First, from the days of Naxalbari Movement in West Bengal to the recent years of Maoist Movement spread over different parts of Andhra, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar and even a part of Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra bring out one thing very clearly and that is highly uneven distribution of cultivable agricultural lands among the poor peasants and those who live in hills and forests forcing them to live below the poverty line and in utter misery and poverty. Rural poverty seems to be a very crucial factor in this connection. If in West Bengal, the birthplace of Naxalism, could not sustain its initial pro-violent character of agrarian movement, it is largely due to effective implementation of land laws, land revenue system, and equitable distribution of agricultural yields.

Secondly, what makes democratic governance a success is the sustained tempo of industrialization and modern methods of agricultural production. In this connection, the case of Punjab may be profitably recalled. Though it is said, perhaps with partial justification, that the Sikh insurgency could be effectively tackled because of strong administration. This is only a half truth and therefore misleading. Perhaps the right answer to the question could be justifiably found in terms of industrial and agricultural development of the hard-working and outward-looking of the people of Punjab. Whatever may be the political complexion of the ruling government and the related administrative composition of the government the relative prosperity — relatively to the peoples of other States, the people of Punjab, have taken substantial care of their own economic problems. The spilt over affects of it are evident also in the neighbouring State, Haryana.

Thirdly, poverty and casteism, though outwardly different, are like twin in character in the major parts of the Hindi-speaking areas of India. Close and objective analysis shows that the people belonging to upper class wield more political, administrative and economic powers and the brunt or impact of poverty is most acutely suffered by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The gradual and very slow emergence of the so-called

creamy layer among these backward communities persists in effect. The benefits of poverty-alleviation programmes and the intended benefits of the welfare legislations do not reach the intended target groups beyond, say, 15 per cent cases.

The seemingly paradoxical outcome of well-meaning laws and programmes are to be understood and interpreted mainly in terms of complex but cooperative forces at work between powerful polity and influential administrative machinery. The primacy of the social and the much-devalued importance of the political need to be carefully understood in the Indian context. At the ground level, at the social level, the poorer people continue to be exploited, despite notional availability of pro-poor legislation. Most of the pro-poor administrative measures remain unimplemented because, among other things, of the lack of the will of the political authority and the so-called local self government. "Power comes from the barrels of gun" may be a misleading and simplistic slogan but the fact that poverty feeds and strengthens the propensity for the use of the gun by the poor can hardly be denied.

Fourthly, we should bear in mind that democracy together with its contents and underlying forces, are rightly sorted and sifted out it turns out to be a hollow concept.

Democracy, broadly speaking, may be of three types: (i) governance by consent, (ii) governance by consent and constraint, and (iii) governance by coercion. To start with, we must reject (iii), governance by coercion. It is not a desirable mode of governance. Because the legitimate human rights and basic liberties cannot be suppressed indefinitely by resorting to coercion. Even the mightiest of the political powers like the Nazi Germany in Europe, particularly Russia, and the USA in Vietnam, in spite of their superior military power, backed by hegemonic, political ideology could not ensure their victory.

This is not to deny the necessity of a hidden element of constraint or force underlying the very necessity of governance. It is well known that governance, legally and politically speaking, is a multi-layered affair. It may be unitary or federal. Federal units may have local self-governing units under them.

The hierarchy of the governing units has at least its two sides, positive and negative. Most human beings have at least two native propensities in them — self-centric and aggregative or other-oriented. They need certain items for living like food and shelter which are essentially familial in character, i.e., for the immediate members of their families. But

with the passage of time it has been found that when smaller aggregates like family, clan and tribe are further expanded, the narrowness of self-centricity leads to clash and conflict even between the members of the smaller aggregates even of common ancestry. Anthropologists, social psychologists and political historians point out this development in terms of both psychological principle of man's innate bipolarity and the fact that individual choices, being arbitrary and invidious in many cases, need to be tamed and regulated by positive laws as well as normative regulations, by do's and don'ts, by *vidhi* and *nishedhas*.

Even the thinkers who believe in some or other form of anarchism, the ideal of self-governance or statelessness, have admitted in different qualified forms, that this high ideal cannot be given actual shape unless and until the human nature develops substantially, enabling humans to narrow down the difference between self and other. Positively speaking, global society, and universal humanism, though extremely laudable as goal, cannot be immediately or even in near nature, realized in practice or given concrete shape.

Here lies the role and necessity of constraint — of the self by some or other institution — whether we call it State or Government. A judicious combination of decentralization and institutional regulations seems to be unavoidable at this stage of the development of the human nature, on the one hand, and more or less limitations of every form of government or institutional control. The highest level of self-control which can possibly render the existence of external governance superfluous is a Utopia, however solicited it otherwise may be.

# 13

## *Thinking about Empowered Participatory Development*

*Byung Jin, Lee*

*T*he aim of this paper is to point out the importance of civil engagement in the field of development. Here, an effort is being made to re-define and critically examine the South Korean model of economic development. At the same time I shall try to present some positive aspects of Kerala's development program as a decentralization model.

South Korea is regarded as a good example of development model among the less developed countries. South Korea achieved its economic goals very quickly by adopting a state control model of economic growth. But then economic achievement created some social tensions as well.

In my opinion, the agenda of development must be concerned with both social and economic factors, that is development with human face. This is a lesson form Korean developmental experience.



Let me first of all, talk about the history of economic development in South Korea. Subsequently I shall try to spell out the participatory development agenda.

### **Top Down Model for Economic Development: State Agenda**

Korea was a backward country in the early twentieth century. During the First and Second World Wars, She was subjected by Japanese rule. When the Japan was defeated by Allied Forces (Britain, France, USSR and US), Korea succeeded in getting freedom from the Japanese colonial rule. Unfortunately, the Korean Peninsula was partitioned into two parts — North Korea and South Korea. North Korea established a Socialistic state under the influence of then Soviet union and the South Korea established a capitalistic State influenced by US.

Owing to the influence of US, the 'Modernization' became the main aim of the Korean state. The modernized projects based on the export-oriented industrial policy speeded up its economic growth. Korean Government further stressed upon the "Trickle down" or "Top down" models of development to achieve its high targets. Any how, the growth rate was achieved, the per capita income increased many times, and internationally Korea got an important position. But new tensions and contradictions started emerging at the societal level and in the governance. The state ignored the social and human aspects which are the core areas for better quality of life. Only economic factors remained the focus of the country's development agenda.

### **Co-operation between Ruling Capitalist Class and Military Elite**

There are some similarities between the "Top down Model" and the "Command Economic Model". The mandates of top-down economic development posed serious problems for the common people. The ordinary people were forced to work hard for their survival. Following this development model, the human rights of the common people were superseded by economic supremacy. This situation created uncertainty. As a result the common people started reacting to this pattern of lopsided development. The uncertainty resulted into aggressive reactions; for example, there occurred a student uprising and people's agitation in 1970s'.

At that time, serious contradictions between economic development and social justice were seen at the surface. To overcome this situation, the ruling class comprising of capitalists and the military elite tried to co-operate with each other in common interest. The ruling class thought that there was a dire need of 'stability' and 'social order' to sustain

the economic performance. During the military coup in 1960s by the military elite, there was no resistance by the dominant ruling class. The elite class had been educated by the American regarding the idea of democracy but they ignored it and did not react to the military rule.

In this way, the dominant ruling class of that period supported the military regime indirectly. The military rule used the country's legal institutions according to their need and even used the Constitution as per their requirement. In fact that was a period of military dictatorship. If anybody or organization agitated against their misrule, the military regime dismissed or suppressed them with gun power in the name of the national security. Many people were sent to jail and the political agitations were crushed. This was a period when, the democracy was being killed under the thumb of Martial Law. The so-called slogan of 'National Security' and 'Economic Development' was used to justify for Martial Law / Dictatorship. However, the common man continued suffering and the gap between the rich and poor widened.

At the beginning of 1970s', the oppressed class of the workers and students launched massive agitations against the oppression of Martial Rule. Some students, eminent journalists and renowned scholars severally criticized the military regime, but the martial rulers did not change their policy approach towards common man. They continued oppressing the people despite repeated requests from the class who initially supported the Military Regime, the iron rule continued with its oppressive policies. This forced the common Korean people to rise against the military junta through an organized struggle. There was a strong reaction from the martial rulers. Thousands of innocent people were killed by the Korean National Special Army of south-west province of "Kang Ju" in May 1980. There was genocide.

After this, the Military elite and dominant class tried to make peace efforts for the stability of military government. But it could not succeed and the military regime failed to suppress the people's will. To assuage the anger of the people, an intermediate semi-civilian government in 1992. The Government was formed basically to make peace efforts for the formation of the Government based on democratic ethos. Finally, the military regime led by the conservative party surrendered the power to the elected civilian government in 1997. It was a first time that the political power was transferred through franchise to a civilian government, based on democracy.

## Criticism of "Development State"

The topic of 'development state' is a very controversial debate. It is not so easy to reach an authentic conclusion. But let me give some points of criticism of the development state model broadly.

- First, the imperial bureaucratic state vision of planned development model could not ensure harmony within society. It gave birth to social tensions among different social groups. The command order generated a feeling of alienation among the common people
- Secondly, this model led to centralization of power in few hands which resulted into a monopoly of capitalism. A few big business groups like 'Samsung', 'LG', 'Hyundai' and others controlled the entire economy..
- Finally, this model led to favoritism, nepotism and corruption. Big business houses invested huge money in politics to get economic favors. This combination pushed the government to failures and immorality.

In brief, the development state model could not ensure a sustainable development process.

## Market Oriented Model

Under the liberalization, privatisation and globalisation (LPG) model, the new semi-civilian government formulated its Market Orient Model in 1992. The aim of this model was to form a "small government" and bring in "deregulation rule". This policy has remained in forefront till now and is playing an important role in the South Korean economy. But this model has also some defects. Let me mention here the 'Korean Finance Emergency of 1997' as a good example of defect. With the opening the market for direct investment, the international private investors put in huge resources in the Korean economy. Over time, this international speculative fund led to currency overvaluation, over-borrowing, and over-lending for the domestic economy. At that point huge fund earned huge profits. But then the speculative bubble could not escape a burst. The money pumped in fled away from the Korean economy in a small stroke. As a result, very big financial crisis emerged in 1997 and crumbled the whole economy. To borrow the money, The Korean government had to surrender its economic sovereignty to the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF imposed the structural adjustment checks and insisted on deregulation of labour market. They led to an atmosphere of social instability also.



Now, let me list two demerits of 'market led model' of development.

- First, the 'Free Market Theory' is only a theory; not practical reality. Market institutions need public interventions. Otherwise these will not be able to deliver the desired.
- Second, most of the agents which is taking part in the market are simply profit oriented. They do not have the interest of the common man as their core agenda. This will lead to unrest whereas social harmony is basic to development.

### **Significance of the Kerala's Experiment**

The development model adopted by the Indian state of Kerala is the ideal model for economic growth. The positive side of this growth model is that it focuses on participatory local democracy. Further this model emphasises people's participation for a sustainable development based on social justice. In addition, this model promotes the human rights, especially of the under privileged sections of the society. The affirmative action of state is also embedded in the model. The democratic decentralization helps mobilization of "social capital". There exists a vast arena of interpersonal relations or and community networks where order is maintained and development ensured.

### **Conclusion**

My argument is that there are problems with both the state and market interventions to the extremes. Development has to take place in a social context. Development is not a subjective matter but a holistic model based on objective conditions. That is why I am insisting on the thesis of 'Participatory Development'.

Currently, India has successfully opened up to the international market. In due course, the market incentives will naturally raise its economic growth rate. It is a good symptom for economic development. However, one should not forget that the private capital (FDI also) has profit and not social concerns as its motto. In the light of this, the possibilities are there that the economic reforms in India may create a wide gap between the rich and the poor. It may result in social tensions and political instability—both a matter of concern.

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**SECTION IV**  
*Social Sciences and  
Peace and Development*





# 14

## *The Indian State under Globalization: A Research Agenda* *Rahul Mukherji*

*T*heoretically grounded empirical work on the impact of globalization on the Indian state has relevance for social science and policy in India. Researchers working on the Indian state under globalization needed to take into account a three-step process. First, how were international rules, norms or standards affecting the policy of the Indian state? Second, how could India engage at the multilateral or regional level to ensure that international rules, norms or standards, reflected more meaningfully the interests of India and similarly placed countries in the global division of labor. And third, what internal measures did the Indian state need to take to find itself well equipped for engaging with the process of global economic integration?

First, how were international rules affecting the policies made by the Indian state? Many policy measures such as trade liberalization,

privatization, the introduction of competition in public and private sectors of the economy, introduction of the new intellectual property protection regime, greater autonomy of the sub-national state, encouragement of foreign investors, were areas where many unwittingly assumed that the state acted in certain ways, because of pressures from international multilateral fora.

An important question for comprehending the development of India's political economy was the extent to which many of these decisions were reached as a result of an internal consensus. Were areas of policy change driven primarily by international donors who were less attentive to the domestic social, political and economic contexts? Did external pressure result in a lack of success in adjusting to a market-oriented order? Were policy arenas where structural changes promoting competition were the result of a homegrown and more gradual evolution more successful, because they reflected an internal consensus?

Second, how were international standards or norms formed? How did they evolve? Bilateral and unilateral approaches were inadequate for ordering a world of increasing flows of transnational capital, goods and people. For example, domestic level approaches to taxation were becoming increasingly ineffective in an era of mobile factors of production. National level approaches to international property protection and environmental pollution, could discourage economic activity and pollute the atmosphere. International coordination in many areas of the global economy has a public good or collective good character. Such goods may not be easy to provide in the absence of legitimate and accountable supra national authority<sup>1</sup>.

Once international standard setting was completed, states often had to adjust to these international standards. It was difficult for states to give up even iniquitous standards, because of some gains that may accrue from being a party to a multilateral club. Countries like India and China realized that iniquitous multilateral fora provided them with more bargaining power than the even more predatory bilateral deals struck between rich and poor countries. For example, India accepted the iniquitous intellectual property regime within the World Trade Organization (WTO), and, China paid a heavy price to get back into the WTO. Developing country states needed to play a more pro-active role in international standard formation. If they were able to play such a role, they would be able to provide a voice for divergent interests, which were missing from many international economic negotiations in the past.

We needed to ask, how was coordination in various areas of international economic activity achieved? Was it achieved in a manner that

reflected the interests of the powerful? Or, did it sometimes reflect the interests of the many, for rational self-interested reasons? Or, were norms constructed because of a collective shared understanding about legitimate social purpose? There may be no unique answers, which explain international norm dynamics. It was important, however, to discern the various causal mechanisms behind international regime formation. An understanding of such causal mechanisms could aid the Indian state gain influence in international fora.

Social science needed to take note of the mechanisms governing standard setting in various areas of global governance. Positions taken by countries like India, which have a certain location in the international division of labor, could reflect the interests of similarly situated countries and help build coalitions. A democratic global order ultimately depended on how some important players learnt to articulate their interests. Such articulation could not be achieved mechanically without a good roadmap of possibilities for such articulation.

Third, in a world of sovereign states, the impact of global economic integration on the state was often felt through international trade and financial flows. As countries became more trade dependent, development began to depend on phenomena that occurred in other states. A global recession sparked off by an oil shock, a decline in the demand for software and services, or a sudden withdrawal of foreign capital as evidenced in East Asia, could hurt jobs in India and China. The paradox of trade dependence was that wealth creation could be accompanied by increasing social vulnerability. For example, if imports made agricultural goods cheaper, were farmers in India being protected with adequate social protection, infrastructure and marketing facilities that could enable them to compete with farmers in the rest of the world? Such social protection was a responsibility of the Indian state because this activity was uneconomic for private actors.

The welfare state in India needed to tax corporations and citizens, and provide efficient service delivery, in order to reduce social vulnerability. OECD countries that were highly trade dependent had robust welfare states. These welfare states had helped capital by providing for social harmony in an environment of productivity. Developing countries, on the other hand, where the contract between the citizen and the state was of more recent vintage, did not have effective welfare states in place. Would the Indian state, which was embracing global economic integration, be able to rise to the challenge of engendering a facilitating environment for both

capital and labor? Would the state invest in rural areas in a manner that would benefit both the rich and the poor farmers alike? How could such functions be designed after taking into account the current pathologies of the state in India?

The state needed to be autonomous of social actors for taxation and for redirecting investments in areas which could enhance India's competitiveness and reduce social vulnerability. The critical question that needed to be asked was: was the Indian state under globalization getting captured by capital or was it able to use capital to promote India's competitiveness, growth and human development. A body of literature on East Asia suggested that the state needed to play an autonomous role and guide capital and labor rather than get captured by it. If it was found that the state in India was increasingly getting captured by powerful interests like rich farmers and big capital to the detriment of India's development, research needed to focus on how the Indian state's institutions could be designed to earn a greater degree of autonomy from powerful social forces.

This paper will elaborate these issues and argue the case for a research agenda. It will make the case for the need of a Janus-faced state that can a) pursue the agenda of democratic global governance; and b) deal with society at the local level so that it can make the tough decisions needed to engage with globalization. The assumption behind this research agenda is that a resilient state is necessary for dealing with uncertainties posed by globalization. The evolving global economy has opportunities for countries like India. A state that can engage both globally and locally may realize these opportunities. One that is unable to engage with undemocratic forces in both the arenas may succumb to predation and fail to become a facilitator of development.

### **How did Globalization Affect the Indian State?**

Much had changed in India after the balance of payments crisis of 1991. Indian policies became more positive about promoting exports and allowing foreign capital to participate in the process of India's growth. A question that needed to be asked was whether these were induced by the crisis, or ideational changes within the policy elite, or both? Did institutional histories matter in explaining the relative success or failure in converting policy change to institutional changes favoring competition and efficiency in diverse sectors of the Indian economy? An important research agenda to consider was the role of the multilateral institutions, and technocratic shifts within the Indian policy elite, in explaining the distinct trade oriented shift in the policy trajectory since 1991.



What were these changes? Tariffs were reduced; foreign exchange controls were relaxed; competition was introduced in the traditional public sector dominated infrastructure areas like power, telecommunications, and airlines; industrial licensing was virtually abolished; public sector units were sold to private corporations; foreign investment was welcomed in a variety of sectors; the intellectual property regime was changed to favor the cause of protecting intellectual property rather than public health, and, foreign institutional investors began investing heavily in the Indian stock market. There were other areas such as the policy on labor, agriculture, and the continued growth of the fiscal deficit, where Indian policies had not changed substantially, despite India's moves towards global economic integration. The paper will take up these issues in the last section when discussing how the state needed to work on social actors for bringing about development.

Did India execute trade and efficiency oriented policy changes in a manner that reflected its own preferences and political style? It has been argued that gradualism has characterized India's liberalization. In this mode of affecting policy and institutional change, a broad policy vision is provided but the specifics of policy change are not laid out. Such specifics need to take into account the accommodation of interest groups and political opportunism. Gradualism helps to build consensus while at the same time it also delays the process of adjustment to the imperatives of globalization.

To give just one example, private investment was encouraged in the telecom sector, which needed substantial capital for growth. Telecommunications was viewed as being critical for development, especially as an input into India's growing software and services sector. A couple of strategies could have been followed in India. One strategy could be to make government service providers more efficient before inviting private entry, as was the case with British Telecom. This would have required major institutional changes affecting the work ethic and procurement policy, since much of the slack related with government ownership needed to be removed. Such measures would have required a tremendous amount of insulation from bureaucratic and trade union pressure emanating from India's government owned telecom sector.

Such bold decisions were not possible in India. The Department of Telecom Services could only be corporatised in 2002 even though the entry of private capital in the cellular area was allowed in 1992. The reason for creating the corporatised Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited (BSNL) was that

private capital was exerting so much competitive pressure on the government monopoly that regulatory privileges notwithstanding, the government realized that Department of Telecommunications could only succeed if its corporatised manifestation, the BSNL, were allowed to function as a government owned but autonomous corporation. Since India could not meaningfully disinvest or corporatise its inefficient corporations at an early stage, competition was forced through the back door by allowing private players in the business.

Another example of gradualism and muddling through reforms was the way in which regulation was introduced in India's telecom sector. The regulator was to play referee between state and private capital to ensure a level playing field for private capital. Privatization was introduced first in the absence of a regulator because the Department of Telecommunications would not easily give up its regulatory privileges. The early manifestation of the regulator in 1997, and the subsequent strengthening in 2000, was the result of several crises of investment that unregulated private investment produced in India. The broad guidelines about the need for regulation were available as early as March 1991. The process of regulatory evolution was messy and had to take into account bureaucratic and commercial interests in the presence of technocratic orientation within the Prime Minister's Office, which favored an even playing field for private investment.

The politics of telecom regulation continued to be messy. The telecom regulator needed greater financial independence and policy-making powers. The Department of Telecommunications did not renounce these powers easily. What could be the political dynamics of regulatory evolution in a sector where private players have now replaced government predation with their own version of predatory behavior?

The extent to which India's adjustment to a trade-oriented order was homegrown rather than dictated from above, could be a determinant of success in promoting an efficient economy. The problems facing the telecom sector notwithstanding, regulatory evolution in the telecommunications sector, which was more homegrown, was also more successful. The Electricity Act 2003 tried to incorporate some of the lessons of successful regulation in the telecom sector.

Second, India did not pay heed to the advice of the Washington consensus on capital account convertibility, a policy measure which had brought misery to East Asian countries. Credit must be given to Indian policy-makers for independent economic policy thinking before the advent of the East Asian crisis. What was remarkable about the trade-oriented

policies pursued in the aftermath of 1991 crisis was that devaluation, import liberalization, and rupee convertibility in the current account, boosted India's exports. But capital account restrictions helped to check an easy outflow of precious foreign exchange reserves.

India continued to adjust to emerging international regimes. It was adjusting to an intellectual property regime popularized by the WTO, where it claimed that enough attention had been paid to public health concerns while providing adequate safeguards for innovators. As the pharmaceutical industry moved from government ownership and control towards private (often multinational) ownership and reduced government participation, the politics of winners, losers and role of developmental ideas, needed clear-minded elaboration.

Third, India had argued a case for freeing textiles from the protectionist quota driven multi-fiber agreement. Is the country fit to meet the challenge from China, as labor abundant countries work hard to position themselves for selling apparel in unrestricted world markets after 2005? India's textile potential declined over decades of import substitution owing largely to the export pessimism engendered by Indian policies. How will policies and institutions promoting competitiveness transform the industrial sector into one that promotes India as a manufacturer of exports? The same question that could be asked for textiles could be asked for enhancing the export potential of other manufacturing sectors and commercial export oriented agriculture.

Are adjustments, which are homegrown and gradual, easier to execute than those that are rapid and imposed from above? Adjustments often need institutional change. Such changes are not easy because they affect organized groups that benefit from the status quo. What then explains the success or failure in bringing about institutional changes favoring efficiency? Do policies and institutions change, when technocratic ideas favoring change have taken a hold of the policy establishment? Why do these ideas change? Does gradualism and attendant checks and balances nevertheless help to promote consensus and surer movement in the direction of successful adjustment? What are the downsides of political opportunism and rent seeking in an era of gradual adjustment? How can these be minimized?

### **Engaging with International Standard Setting**

Research on the Indian state under globalization needed to generate testable propositions on how international standards evolve.



International standards have an impact on how wealth creation arising from global economic integration gets distributed among states in the international system. For example, a particular intellectual property regime may change the balance of gains between pharmaceutical companies and public health concerns in poor countries. Changing international corporate tax rules could enhance the taxing power of rich countries. Shifting the arenas of agenda setting away from multilateral institutional settings like the United Nations (UN) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), to regional and bilateral trade agreements, was ridden with distributional consequences.

A globalizing India needed to deal with international standards and rules for international economic coordination to a much greater extent than was the case when economic independence was the guiding principle of India's economic policy. Policy-relevant social science in India needed to figure out the causal mechanisms that governed international norm dynamics. Did standards reflect just the global distribution of power; or, some kind of a rational consensus based on positive sum situations that arose in the global economy; or, a legitimate social purpose with accountability embedded in such legitimate authority?

This was an important question because international standards would involve tremendous negotiation costs. Many states would be unwilling to pay these costs, if all could gain at the end of the process. Stated in another way, industrial strikes often failed since the price that was paid by striking workers could lead to benefits that non-striking workers would equally be able to enjoy.

The research puzzle was, how would global governance mechanisms arise in the absence of legitimate supra-national authority? Would they arise due to the asymmetrical benefits of a few powerful states in the world economy; or for realizing positive sum situations where all would benefit; or, because of some logic of appropriateness based on sound argumentation?

### **Realist Causal Mechanisms**

One proposition seeking to explain international coordination could be that rules reflected the global distribution of power. Powerful states in the international system would try to maintain their relative power with respect to other states in the international system. International rules reflected the interests of the powerful rather than any legitimate social purpose.



Realists and neo-realists believed that states in the international system operated in the absence of a legitimate supranational authority, which produced an environment that Hobbes described as anarchy. States could only depend on themselves to survive and would build their economic and military might to defend themselves in a hostile world. They pursued the objective of relative gains with respect to similarly placed states in the international system, and, often converted their economic power to military purposes and vice versa. The Hobbesian metaphor was a powerful justification of the proposition that international rules reflected the distribution of power.

To give one example, if the power of developing countries was great in some issue area, one would expect the UN to be the venue of deliberations. This was because the one-country-one-vote system in the General Assembly accorded greater power to developing countries. If, on the other hand, a few rich countries had great influence, then the venue would most likely shift to the World Bank, the IMF or the WTO. These were organizations where rich countries had greater clout than the UN. Jagdish Bhagwati has argued persuasively that the one-country-one-vote system of the WTO makes it relatively more democratic than the World Bank or the IMF.

Might is right in many issues concerning international cooperation. The reason why there was no agreement over the right to transmit radio signals over state boundaries was because the industrialized countries wanted it, and the developing countries could not stop it. Since, industrialized countries got their way without any cooperation, there was no need for cooperation with developing countries.

Another classic example of power driving rules is the international civil aviation regime. The Bermuda regime driven by national control of airline routes, which reinforced monopolies, largely reflected UK's interests in 1946. The UK, which had suffered a loss of competitiveness in the airlines sector in the aftermath of World War II, was not in favor of a competitiveness-based strategy. Subsequently, de-colonization and the availability of jet technology reduced the US's need for landing rights on UK's soil. When Britain would not agree to a more competitive regime, the US successfully threatened it with traffic diversion to the Netherlands. The British finally acquiesced in a more competitive regime, which reflected American power and interests.

India has suffered because of its inability to comprehend the dynamics of power in the global economy. The Uruguay Round of trade

negotiations was an excellent example. India opposed everything from the initiation of the round to the inclusion of services and intellectual property protection in the new round. It stayed out of the negotiations and did not play a constructive role that may have helped to promote its interest within the WTO. The Group of 10 developing countries, which comprised of India, Egypt, and Brazil, among others, disintegrated very quickly, much to India's dismay. India found itself alone without a friend. It finally acquiesced in the deals struck by other trading countries, which had negotiated their interests more meaningfully.

India opposed the negotiations leading to the protection of trade related intellectual property rights (TRIPS). First, India's complete opposition to better protection of its intellectual property rested on the assumption of its lack of trade orientation. This policy position was not based on a sound understanding of its competitive sectors such as software and pharmaceuticals, which would need intellectual property protection. India's National Association of Software and Service Companies (NASSCOM), which emerged as an important lobby within a few years, favored the protection of India's intellectual property. Research and development services, an area of emerging importance where big MNCs like Intel, Du Pont and GE had invested heavily in India, also needed intellectual property protection. Last but not the least, technology and research and development intensive investments were unlikely, if intellectual property was not adequately secured in India.

The intellectual property regime that India acquiesced in without negotiating properly, was heavily tailored towards the interests of the US's pharmaceutical sector. Jagdish Bhagwati argued that the WTO negotiations resulted in overkill in terms of protecting innovators, when the 20-year monopoly over product patents was granted to innovators. Patents needed to protect the right of innovators in order to spur innovation. Bhagwati argued that such exclusive monopoly rights that stifled competition had never been deemed essential for innovation in the history of technological progress. The agenda was hijacked away from the WTO by the World Bank, which was driven more squarely by the interest of the US pharmaceutical lobby. Had India understood its own interests within a trading order, it could have tipped the scales in favor of those countries, which were in favor of more limited intellectual property protection.

Second, India initially opposed any negotiation on the General Agreement on Trade in Services, when its services were poised to be a major source of export earnings. Had India understood this potential, it could

have sided with the US in the service negotiations, in return for some concessions in other areas such as intellectual property protection.

India needed to push for freer movement of professionals within the GATS. Information technology workers who serviced India's exports needed to travel freely to destinations where Indian companies provided software services in foreign locations. Yet, developed country concessions in this area have not been substantial. India needed to be clear about what it could offer other countries in return for securing its interests.

In the multilateral trade world, where new commercial rules were being legislated into domestic laws, India needed to weigh the costs and benefits of making concessions and gaining benefits. In order for India to play a pro-active role in the global economy, it needed to understand the politics of power interests, and, push towards coalitions of like-minded states in disparate areas of the global economy.

Often times, Indian domestic lobbies needed to make alliances with similarly interested parties in developing countries to achieve this goal. For example, if India's National Association of Software and Service Companies (NASSCOM) was to aid the Indian state to push for curbing legislation against outsourcing in the US, it would have to lobby effectively with financial and industrial interests in the US, whose interests were similar to NASSCOM's. It would have to effectively wage a war against the trade unions in the US. Pushing for India's interests in the global economy accorded an international role to domestic lobbies as well as the state. Social science literature could point to the alignment of interests at the level of the Indian state and domestic coalitions for pursuing a common purpose at the global level.

Sometimes, a particular type of domestic institution enabled greater voice in setting product standards in international trade. The International Standards Organization (ISO) and the International Electrotechnical Commission (IEC) are two pertinent examples. According to a well researched paper, European standard setting institutions in the area of setting product related standards, were much better equipped to voice their preferences than American institutions. This was because European standard setting, which was funded by governments, was better institutionalized and hierarchically ordered. Better institutionalization allowed for greater diversity in interest articulation. Hierarchical ordering of interests meant that each national level standard setting organization spoke with one voice. In the US, the organization of standard setting organizations was more driven by private fragmented interests, in an



environment where information was neither shared freely, nor disseminated with one voice. The Americans were losing out on standard setting because of a defective institutional setting.

Product standards can be an important barrier or facilitator of trade. India needed to secure the interests of its export-oriented sector by ensuring that it had some voice in setting international product standards. The political economy of setting the standards for tradable products could throw light on how best to promote India's trade.

Regionalism was becoming an important factor in international economic relations. The European Union had expanded into a large internal market. The US, as a defensive response, retreated to regionalism via the North American Free Trade Agreement. It also kept its options open in Asia through the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation initiative (APEC). The Free Trade Area of the Americas was also a possibility. In Asia, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was becoming a robust trade area, with expanded integration via ASEAN plus 3, which included China, Japan and South Korea. Much of East Asian regionalism, which was not formalized, occurred through trade supporting investment patterns.

India has begun engaging regionally with the US, EU and the ASEAN. What were the costs and benefits of India's participation in regional rather than multilateral governance mechanisms? Second, what were the political dynamics of India's integration with geographically proximate regions like East Asia? Did business interests and the need for expanding markets facilitate such regional integration, after India turned global?

How could India broker a South Asian solidarity on a number of trade issues of common concern at the multilateral level, such as trade and environment, trade and labor, and, intellectual property concerns? In all these issues, most countries of South Asia, being poor and capital scarce, were averse to international standards that may be protectionist towards their trade. Were there any other areas of South Asian solidarity within the multilateral system? Could there be a plausible way of working out the politics of South Asian solidarity at the multilateral level?

Last but not the least, how could regional or sub-regional cooperation be facilitated within South Asia? The problem facing regional cooperation in South Asia was one that could be understood within the realist paradigm. Small states in South Asia felt scared that the size and diversity of India's economy would make them vulnerable with respect to



India, even if it were economic to trade with India. Such vulnerability could cripple these economies in case of sanctions or military conflicts. Could there be reasons beyond anarchy and power that suggested plausible mechanisms for governing commerce between large and small countries in the South Asian region?

### **International Institutions Based on Rational Self-Interest**

A second important proposition in international cooperation concerned how states might realize their interests by evolving certain norms for rational self-interested reasons. Norms such as reciprocity could evolve in international relations, in a manner that would promote everyone's gain. Unlike the realist's world described above, this was an environment of a positive sum game, where institutions could help realize such gains. The absence of international institutions led to sub-optimal outcomes.

Rationality based arguments about international cooperation often drew an analogy from the Prisoner's Dilemma (PD) game. In the PD game, cooperation was inhibited by the fact that the two prisoners had no communication between each other. In this game, the two prisoners were caught for a minor crime, but the police suspected a major crime. If the prisoners squealed or sneaked about the major crime, they would land three years in prison. If both cooperated and did not squeal, they would remain in prison for two years. If one squealed but the other did not, then the one, which cooperated, would get a one-year sentence as reward but the one, which squealed, would be in prison for four years. Lack of communication led to a situation where both prisoners ended up in prison for three years by squealing when they could enjoy a two-year sentence, if both had cooperated.

Robert Axelrod found that communication among prisoners could evolve if the prototypical prisoners were allowed to play the PD game over an infinite number of plays. In computer tournaments organized at the University of Michigan, Axelrod found that the strategy of reciprocity won two successive computer tournaments modeled after the PD game. This strategy was used by beginning the game by cooperating, and thereafter, rewarding a cooperative move with cooperation, and, punishing defection (or squealing) with defection. In this manner, the persistent use of reciprocity led to cooperation. The prisoners ceased to squeal and learned to live with each other by developing the norm of reciprocity. Axelrod found that real life trench warfare during World War 1 was played as a cooperation game, because soldiers on both sides learned to live with each other over a

period of time. The German and the French armies learned to fire their shots in the air pretending that they were fighting, lest their commanders figured out that they really were not. In this case, if the soldiers fired in air and the superiors did not learn about it, then the soldiers could live. If, on the other hand, they kept killing each other, many more soldiers would lose their lives.

What lessons does cooperation in the PD game based on rational self-interest have for students of international cooperation? Institutions can perform two critical functions. They can facilitate the bringing of parties to the bargaining table over and over again, so that reciprocity may evolve as a strategy. In the terminology of game theory, they can turn a one shot PD game into one that involved an infinite number of plays. Second, they may provide information to the concerned parties about which state was cooperating and which one was defecting. Often international relations were characterized by situations where cooperation could not easily be differentiated from defection. International institutions could monitor the behavior of states and make their responses public for other members of the club. If states knew that they would have to meet at the bargaining table over and over again and they could discern the moves of other states, cooperation could evolve. The unrealized positive sum in the relationship could evolve through the strategy of reciprocity.

The General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) succeeded in reducing tariffs over a number of trade rounds. First, repeated rounds of trade negotiations, which were facilitated by the GATT, may have engendered the birth of a more institutionalized World Trade Organization (WTO) by bringing parties to the bargaining table over and over again. Second, institutions like the WTO also served to monitor the behavior of states in a manner that helped other states differentiate cooperation from defection. The positive sum in the trade game was institutionalized over various rounds of trade negotiations. Such mechanisms increased the level of comfort of the weaker players in the world economy. This could be one reason why China preferred the WTO to bilateral trade relations with the US.

Trade principles were enunciated and adjudicatory mechanisms instituted in the shape of a dispute settlement mechanism. The WTO's dispute settlement mechanism came to the aid of Indian shrimp exporters when US lobbies tried the excuse of environmental concern for turtles to block India's shrimp exports. Bowing down to the rules of the WTO's Dispute Settlement Mechanism, the US respected the WTO's verdict and

did not threaten Indian shrimp exporters with tariffs. The US has ceased the use of trade sanctions after the birth of the WTO with its attendant dispute settlement mechanism.

WTO law was embedded in domestic national level legislations. Such laws could be used to check the predation of Indian intellectual property in foreign destinations. The legalization of international norms within domestic courts needed to be studied. Employing domestic legalization of intellectual property norms as a handy weapon, Vandana Shiva, Linda Bullard and Magda Alvoet successfully challenged the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) and W. R. Grace at the European Patent Office (May 10, 2000). They showed that USDA and Grace had stolen India's traditional knowledge by patenting the useful applications of the Neem tree. The Basmati patent, which constituted a similar theft of India's traditional intellectual property, also needed to be challenged in a similar way.

Could rational reciprocity based techniques for building trade relations evolve in the case of South Asian regional or sub-regional cooperation? Why did India and Sri Lanka sign a successful free trade agreement after years of skepticism? Why did Nepal have a free trade arrangement with India, when Bangladesh and Pakistan had less cordial relations?

Could the strategy of reciprocity help to improve Indo-Bangla trade relations? India and Bangladesh, like India and Sri Lanka, had tremendous trade potential, which was currently being realized through cross border smuggling of enormous proportions. Bangladesh worried that trade dependence on India would increase its vulnerability with respect to a large and hegemonic neighbor. Could India do things right to signal the lack of a hegemonic intent and begin a game of reciprocity with respect to Bangladesh? Were there lessons to be learnt from the story of the Indo-Lanka Free Trade Agreement? Did reciprocity-based strategies employed by Prime Minister I K Gujral produce desirable outcomes in South Asian cooperation?

### **International Norms Driven by a Legitimate Social Purpose**

Third, a relatively understudied area, which is fast gaining attention, is the role of norms in international affairs. Could it be that international affairs were driven by something more than rational self-interest? It could be that certain international practices develop a life of their own through persuasion, imitation and internalization. When a norm gains



legitimacy, belief in the propriety of the norm is considered good. When a norm is not yet accepted, persuasive arguments need to be made, and, norm entrepreneurs need to propagate such arguments.

Arguments, in favor of sovereign equality, human rights, liberal democracy, women's rights, social justice, social capital and the like, first needed to be heard and then internalized. The process of making arguments, spreading them and then internalizing such arguments, constituted the life cycle of international norm dynamics. In the early stages of argumentation most people would be convinced about the inappropriateness of the norm. Once internalized, most people would think that anything other than norm driven behavior was not warranted.

Sometimes international regimes were born as a result of scientific knowledge that emerged out of the work of scholarly communities. The Plan to clean up the Mediterranean, for example, emerged out of a scientific consensus on the unsustainability of pollution in the Mediterranean. A report, which was published in 1977, spearheaded the policy change. Expert knowledge got embedded within the bureaucracies that took it upon themselves to clean up the Mediterranean. Similarly, the Montreal Protocol on the Ozone layer was facilitated by a consensus among scientists that ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbons posed a real threat to the atmosphere's ozone layer, which was absolutely essential for health.

World order theorists have argued the case for a constitutional structure based on ideas that helped to structure international politics. Arguments have been made about the Keynesian compromise of embedded liberalism that was argued to be the spirit behind the multilateral economic institutions resulting from Pax Americana in the aftermath of the Second World War. The spirit of laissez faire that characterized Pax Britannica was replaced by the norm of embedded liberalism. Embedded liberalism was a norm that allowed for market orientation with social democratic exceptions. Many capitalist states in the West, which were also democracies, had to live with the possibility that unregulated markets devoid of state intervention could produce recessions, depressions and electoral losses. It was important for the US, therefore, to take into account the interests of Europe, whose views were ably articulated by John Maynard Keynes in his debates with the US representative, Harry Dexter White.

India needed to take its rightful place in the arena of persuasive argumentation. Ideas such as sovereign equality, democratic global governance, and social justice in the global economy, could be pursued with



great effect. Empirical case studies highlighting the predatory nature of the powerful in the international system of states, based on sound empirical evidence, could produce persuasive arguments that could fight such injustices. Such studies could push normative ideas to combat the asymmetrical situation that prevailed in the global economy.

### **Power, Rationality and Social Purpose**

This section will demonstrate through a case study how particular international rules can affect the global distribution of revenue by describing deliberations in the international corporate tax regime.

Questions that needed to be asked in similar issue-areas related a) to the causal mechanisms behind international rule formation; and, b) how India could intervene given the dynamics of international norm formation. The consensus on conditionality within the IMF; structural adjustment within the World Bank; norms governing what mutual funds considered investment friendly destinations; and, conditions involving the entry of foreign direct investment; are the other regimes that needed to be closely scrutinized and engaged with, by India. This was especially important at a time when India's development was increasingly becoming dependent on transnational capital.

Rules governing international corporate taxation could benefit rich or poor countries depending on how they was defined. The content of these rules was especially important for India because it was engaging in the kind of transnational commerce, which the new rules would come to encompass. The current principles, which were embedded in over a thousand bilateral treaties among countries, were being reviewed in the light of the fact that transnational commerce would be tough to govern within bilateral settings. More importantly, these rules, which were being deliberated within the OECD, were now being coordinated as a discussion between the World Bank, the IMF and the OECD.

Digitization posed a challenge for corporate taxation. Taxation based on "residence" was favorable to the US. "Residence" was where the firm most central to the bundled product maintained its strongest ties. Microsoft and Intel may be creating significant value in India but may be residing in the US. US resident income was derived globally. "Source", on the other hand, was the place where value was being created. Microsoft could be creating value in its subsidiary in Bangalore although it was headquartered in Seattle.

The following could be the developing country objections to the principle of residence-based taxation proposed by the US. If source based

taxation was the guiding principle, then the value that Microsoft created in India would be taxed in India, and, the value that it created in the US would be taxed in the US<sup>2</sup>. However, if “residence” were the principle of taxation then the total value creation would be taxed in the US. Residence based taxation was antithetical to the interests of capital scarce countries that created value, but where the major firms doing business along the digitized route were not headquartered. Second, residence-based taxation could also lead to a proliferation of tax havens or low tax locations. If the location of taxation depended on where a firm was incorporated rather than where value creation was taking place, what would stop firms from registering themselves in low-tax locations and outsourcing value-creating activities to other locations?

Problems such as international corporate taxation were of a generic nature in an era of globalization. Globalization demanded a greater degree of accountable, transnational, economic governance. The greater the degree of legitimacy and accountability in rule formation with checks and balances against the predation of the most powerful, the more enduring and development friendly these rules were likely to be. On the other hand, this would mean that the powerful would need to sacrifice their short-term interests in favor of a more enduring constitutional structure with checks and balances. The distribution of power would not yield such a structure. What combination of rational self-interest and legitimate social purpose could provide such a roadmap was worthy of investigation. Realism, nevertheless remained an important paradigm to comprehend the dynamics of predation in the global political economy.

### **Managing Social Vulnerability and Competitiveness**

**Social Vulnerability:** Globalization can increase both wealth and social vulnerability for two reasons. First, as countries become more dependent on external markets, job losses often result from the recessions, oil shocks, and a variety of policy options followed by people in other locations. It is for this reason that the highly trade dependent states in Scandinavia also have the most effective welfare states. A number of studies show that globalization has not been able to erode substantially robust welfare states in the OECD countries. The politics and networks of welfare are relatively well entrenched in a majority of the world's richest countries. These states, according to some well-argued accounts, were born as a result of contests between the rulers and the ruled, on the issue of taxation.

The story of the developing world is just the opposite. Post-colonial state formation differed markedly from the conflicts that characterized the

contests between the citizen and the state in the West. A persuasive cross-national study showed that the welfare state in the developing world was declining. How could the logic of democracy and markets be different in the West and East? If social democracy, with powerful trade union movements, seemed to be a plausible reason for the success of the growth model in the West, would not the developing world also need such a social democratic model?

Second, markets, which produce efficiency and growth, also heighten inequalities. They often cannot take care of marginalized groups who are not within the purview of the market. India's telecommunications revolution spurred by private initiative succeeded in urban but not to the same extent in rural areas. This could exacerbate the already existing rural-urban divide. Private hospitals have mushroomed but healthcare for the poor suffered. Productive investment in agriculture had declined but subsidies benefitting the rich farmers went unchecked. Elementary education, needed to spread with greater rapidity.

The state needed to promote the positive sum between the rich and poor, often by using its autonomy to tax and redistribute effectively. The capacity of the Indian state to tax and redistribute to the poor and marginal groups in society was becoming less, but its ability to spend and provide benefits to the well to do and middle classes in India continued unabated. To give one example from India's telecom story, the wireless in local loop technology was allowed to basic service providers because it was considered that wireless technology would be less expensive to roll out basic services in rural areas than the traditional one using wires. Basic services operators used this technology to compete with cellular operators in urban areas but did not fulfill their rural commitments. What was surprising was the way in which the rural commitments of the basic service operators were overlooked by the regulator and the government. Second, the manner in which the Indian state under different parties at the Center negotiated the deal with Enron smacked more of a rent-seeking state than one, which was committed to improved service delivery.

A state in retreat in an era of global economic integration could give excessive voice to capital and powerful stakeholders. Global economic integration needed the state to work with capital for ensuring that India grew at seven per cent to eight per cent per annum. But growth without redistribution at low levels of human development, and a minimal welfare state, could not be in the long run interests of either capital or labor. It was imperative to examine the relationship between the Indian state's capture by capital and rich farmer's lobbies, and, the decline of welfare.



**Regional Inequality:** Economic liberalization and hard budget constraints have reduced the role of the Centre in allocating resources to states. This had heightened regional inequality. The increasing role of private investment afforded greater autonomy to the states to take the initiative to grow. The abolition of industrial licensing ensured that private investment, both foreign and domestic, would go to states where productivity gains would be the greatest. Investors sought a decent legal administrative system for pursuing business; infrastructure in the form of power, telecommunication and roads; and, a skilled and disciplined work force. Good governance was essential for attracting investments.

Montek Singh Ahluwalia has argued persuasively that private rather than public investment was positively and significantly correlated with state-level growth rates in the 14 Indian states that he studied. This implied that states with a higher level of private investment in relation to their gross state domestic product (GSDP) were likely to grow faster. Private investment could be more positively correlated with growth because of the greater efficiency of resource use.

The level of state plan expenditure, which was only about 10 per cent of the investment, did not make a dent on growth. Orissa, which had the highest state plan to GSDP allocation (7.10%), grew at 3.25 per cent, while West Bengal with the lowest plan to GSDP ratio (2.70%) grew at 6.90 per cent. Badly targeted subsidies in the state plans, especially for electricity and irrigation created budgetary problems. The state electricity board losses were about 10 per cent of the state plans in 1992. At Rs. 25,000 crores in 1999, the same figure had risen to 30 per cent of the state plans. Of the 1071 PSUs in the states only 247 were making profits. Agriculture could not be taxed. Civic amenities in the cities were failing while at the same time raising municipal tax to remedy the problem was tough.

Economic reforms transformed the national level scenario in respect of growth leaders and laggards among the states, if we considered the periods 1980-90 and 1991-98. The fastest growing states out of the 14 for which comparable data were available between 1991 and 1998 were Gujarat, Maharashtra and West Bengal, all grew at rates greater or around seven per cent per annum. The middling states were Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Karnataka, and Kerala, which grew between 5.5 and 6 per cent per annum. Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, West Bengal, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnataka improved their growth rates over the reform period. Rajasthan's growth rate declined marginally from 6.60 during 1980-1990 to 5.85 in the period 1991-98. Punjab, Haryana, Bihar,



Uttar Pradesh and Orissa declined in terms of growth rates. The problem states were Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Orissa. These three states carrying about a third of the population of the 14 states under consideration also had the greatest number of the poor.

The gini coefficient for inequality among states grew from 0.152 in 1980 to 0.175 in 1991 to 0.233 in 1998. Inequality within the 14 states grew during the reform period. The good news was that there was reduction in the inequality among the richest and the majority of 14 states, if one considered the pre and post reform period together. Punjab and Haryana were the richest states in the pre-reform period. Their growth rates slowed down to 4.77 and 5.13 per cent respectively in the post-reform period. The bad news was that three poorest states were not only becoming poorer with respect to Punjab and Haryana, but with respect to the rest as well.

Bihar, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh posed a challenge for Indian federalism. India could be evolving both in a developmental and predatory fashion at the same time, worsening disparities and creating grave consequences for the political economy. Whereas in China, the most populous regions were also growing the fastest, just the opposite was true for India.

The Centre needed to play an interventionist role to check regional disparities. The Centre's subsidies to the states at Rs. 46,000 crores exceeded the assistance of the Central Government to the states in support of their plans. Would the Centre be able to reduce support for subsidies and channel funds as performance-based grants to make a dent on the continued underdevelopment of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa? With such help, the three most backward states may be equipped to compete with the rest of the eleven.

This would need deploying conditional funds that could transform the politics of underdevelopment and nudge it towards a developmentalist path. Policy-oriented social science could point to aspects of good governance that would help the poorest states get out of the poverty trap with productive state directed investment. The nature and quality of Central intervention required for pepping up the poorest Indian states posed a challenge for social science in post-reform India.

**Administrative Reform:** Investment driven growth was premised on good governance. Governments needed to provide for a reliable legal system, physical infrastructure, basic health, education, civic amenities, and, a social safety net that secured people from social disruption endemic to a market oriented system. In India, politicization, transfers, lack of

accountability, and the lack of citizen-oriented governance came in the way of engendering an investment friendly climate. An important research question was the relationship between good governance and private investment in the states. A related question was the relationship between the productivity of public investment and good governance in the states.

The bureaucracy needed some insulation from the politician. Oftentimes this was not easily possible because of the power of ministers to transfer public officials for personalistic reasons. Rapid transfers of officials in the Indian states robbed the administrative leadership of knowledge and experience. Civil servants would have less of a stake in their jobs when there was no guarantee that they would be able to complete them. Second, rapid transfers enabled the political master to bend the official to his whims and fancies, increasing the likelihood of corruption. The Fifth Pay Commission gave detailed guidelines to fix the tenure of an officer for a period between two to five years. That the political will behind this policy recommendation was lacking was evident from the lack of consensus on this issue in the Chief Ministers conference of May 1997.

Excessive emphasis on procedure rather than results slowed down the administration. The Economic Administrative Reforms Commission had noted that it was essential to have proper delegation of powers and a clear delineation of responsibility within each ministry between the Secretary, Joint Secretaries, Directors and Deputy Secretaries. The Fifth Pay Commission recommended level jumping for acting efficiently on a file.

Inter-ministerial issues often lacked accountability, as there was no way to link a policy failure to particular minister or official. Proper delegation and accountability of inter-ministerial tasks posed a problem. On rare occasions such as Prime Minister Vajpayee's successful initiative to get the telecom policy back on track after years of investment pessimism, a model of inter-ministerial coordination based on task force initiated by the PM's office, seemed to work. The New Telecom Policy of 1991, which resulted from the work of this task force, was hailed as a public policy document worthy of note. It was important to understand what produced successful and failed initiatives in inter-ministerial coordination.

Making government services more accessible to users was especially important in the context of economic reforms. The Department of Administrative Reforms and Personnel Grievances encouraged the idea of citizen charters. These charters were to promote accountability by setting the standards of service delivery. Procedures to render the service orientation more accountable were instituted. There would be a Director of

Public Grievance in every ministry, a directorate of public grievance in the Cabinet Secretariat, and, a Standing Committee of Secretaries constituted under the Cabinet Secretary.

Following the recommendations of the Fifth Pay Commission some states instituted the position of a *Lok Ayukta* or an ombudsman for public grievance redressal. The *Lok Ayukta* had the right to initiate proceedings directly if it so wished. The institution of the Karnataka *Lok Ayukta* with a budget of Rs. 4 crores and 500 officers from the police, technical, audit and statistical wings, was a notable development. The Karnataka *Lok Ayukta* had under its vigilance directors of health, education, the Bangalore City Corporation, the Bangalore Development Authority, and the Police Wing. The Karnataka *Lok Ayukta* team was active in investigating corruption in health and education. It was important to study institutions like the *Lok Ayukta*, and, the factors that contributed to its success or failure.

The Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation's (BMC) Dahisar Facilitation Centre implemented innovative ideas. Help desks with a monitor facing the citizen enabled her to access forms, guidelines and prior billing records. A single window received applications for opening a factory or a restaurant, took the responsibility for obtaining no objection certificates from other agencies, and issued licenses within 30 days. The grievance tracking software package defined a grievance by sector and type, and gave response times. A single computerized system of letter and file tracking replaced the work of 80 registries.

The BMC worked closely with an NGO named Praja. Praja's citizen charter summarized the BMC's standards of public delivery in areas such as solid waste management, public health, road, electricity, transport, waterworks, licensing, environment and sewerage. It also conducted the first ever public survey of the BMC's performance. In this survey, water works were rated highly but the license, sewerage and traffic departments were not. Praja worked actively with BMC to develop an online public grievance redressal mechanism. Accountable decentralized governance could be facilitated through Panchayati Raj institutions. States like Kerala and Karnataka have devolved some financial powers to Panchayati Raj institutions. China's economic liberalization program succeeded in part because of what some scholars have termed as market preserving federalism. Market preserving federalism was based on the principle of devolving decision-making powers to the lowest level of government. Could Panchayati Raj institutions play such a decentralized decision-making role? What factors inhibited the possibility of localized decision-making in India?



Good governance was essential for luring investment and skilled personnel to India's poorest states. Administrative reform was an area that needed close scholarly scrutiny. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's noble objective of reforming the administration by bringing about greater accountability and citizen orientation, needed to be supported with sound scholarship in this area. Since, most of India resided in the poorest states, effective governance, especially in the poorest states, was an imperative.

**Enhancing Competitiveness:** Some generic questions are likely to arise in relation to promoting India's competitiveness. Does India have decent roads, ports, airports, adequate power generation, efficient telecom service provision, and the human capital (education and health services) necessary for becoming a major trading nation? Does it have a banking and financial system which will aid capital to engage with the global economy? Did the country have a workable contract between labor and capital that created the conditions for social harmony and productivity?

Second, privatization and competition in infrastructure areas needed to be encouraged. Privatization in infrastructure areas was often confronted with predation by the big financial players. In the initial stages, this could mean predation by the government owned incumbent. In the subsequent stages, if privatization succeeded, private capital could pose a threat to competition. Markets would not work for the benefit of consumers if effective regulators did not confront this problem. The problem was that the government was often not easily willing to give effective independence to regulators after ensuring a high level of integrity and responsiveness to government policy. Scholarly research needed to address the issue of effective regulation, if predatory behavior was not to alleviate the positive effects of competition.

## Summing Up

This paper has proposed three types of research agendas for comprehending the state of the Indian state under globalization. The first is the question of adjustment. Is India adjusting to international best practices due to an internal consensus and in a manner that is peculiarly suited to India's plural polity and economic conditions? Or, is the adjustment donor driven and externally induced? Do gradualism, political opportunism and a homegrown approach have benefits and costs that are central to an understanding of the Indian state's adjustment to international best practices?

The second research agenda addresses the nature of international rule formation. Uncovering the dynamics of international rule formation



could help India engage effectively with global regimes. Do these international rules reflect just the power of the strong to exploit the weak; or, a positive sum situation in international relations that cannot be understood without international institutions, based on reciprocity? Or, do they reflect persuasive arguments about a logic of appropriateness that ought to govern inter-state conduct? The paper makes the case that these three types of causal arguments could be suited to addressing different kinds of problems facing the Indian state, as it engages with the global economy.

The third set of questions address the problems that could arise from globalization, which needed to be handled by the Indian state. First, globalization could increase social vulnerability. The state needed to follow the example of the OECD countries to tax and redistribute resources, in order to increase its capacity to provide welfare. Second, liberalization and hard budget constraints had increased the autonomy of the states to pursue development. This may have aggravated inter-state inequality as well. Good governance, especially in the poorest states facilitated by conditional Central finance to nudge these states along a developmental path, was essential.

Last but not least, improving India's international competitiveness was related to the larger question of improving its physical and human infrastructure. Improving physical and human infrastructure required strengthening regulation and promoting competition in various sectors of the Indian economy.

The three issues, which involved a) adjustment to international best practices; b) a pro-active international agenda setting role for the Indian state; and, c) creating the internal dynamism to succeed with globalization, deserved urgent scholarly attention.

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# 15

## *Psychology and Peace and Development*

*Vidhu Mohan*

*I*would like to congratulate Dr. Rashpal Malhotra that he has been able to bring the world here to commemorate a great intellectual patriot — Mr. P.N. Haksar. This is known as synergy of the Universe. And I would like to thank him that on a very short notice, he invited me here and I literally had to burn the mid-night oil to prepare this paper. I can't say no to him because his wife is my friend and in Indian terminology he is my "JIJA" which means brother-in-law. And I have another relationship also his daughter was my student. So, here I am before you. I am very happy that our chairperson is a psychologist because when we talk about social sciences, psychology gets a little subdued reception. But as a psychologist, I find psychology has so much to give in every walk of life. In fact, a few years ago when Indian Science Congress invited me to give a lecture on

application of psychology for the development of society, the panorama was so huge that I did not know where to end. So, when Dr. Malhotra asked me to talk about peace in relation to Psychology, I could not say no. Peace is a subject very dear to my heart. And as psychologist I feel, it's our moral responsibility to educate people, to live happily and peacefully.

Happiness and peace both go hand in hand. But peace is never arises from weakness. Peace is courage with strength and only an empowered person can practice peace. There is a beautiful poem to bring out this relationship:

### **“Strength and Courage”**

It takes strength to be certain,

It takes courage to have doubts.

It takes strength to hide your own pain,

It takes courage to show it and deal with it.

It takes strength to conquer,

It takes courage to surrender.

It takes strength to endure abuses,

It takes courage to stop them.

It takes strength to stand alone,

It takes courage to lean on a friend.

It takes strength to love,

It takes courage to be loved.

It takes strength to survive,

It takes courage to live

Psychology emphasizes on inculcation of quality of life. In my own workshops and training programs for my model on “Self Growth Skills”, (Mohan, 1999) I asked people a question, “what makes you feel happy ? “What gives you happiness”. They begin their list with monetary and materialist things, etc, but soon came to a conclusion that this alone does not give happiness. So, what gives you happiness? And my data speaks that about 90 per cent people feel that when they have done good to somebody else, they feel happy. So, happiness is altruism. Happiness is not violence. Happiness is not hurting people, happiness is not snatching away things from others. It's giving, giving and giving. The more you give, the happier you are. A mother gives lot to her own child and she is a very happy



person and at peace with herself. If we could be more affiliative like our mother, I think world could be a better place to live in. The next in priority for happiness was having a healthy body.

### **Mind and Body Relation.**

In our scriptures we talk of , '*Pehla Sukh Nirogi Kaya*' . '*Sukh*' means happiness and *Nirogi Kaya* means a healthy body. This means a healthy body gives us happiness. But as stated by psychologists, there is an intimate relationship between the mind and the body. Our thoughts, our attitudes, and negative emotions, affect our physical health and well being. In psychology we say there can not be a healthy body without a healthy mind. But more so because psychosomatic disorders are on the increase. All over the world stress is increasing right from childhood along with psychosomatic disorders. Positive thinking is very important for healthy living.

We will now discuss why Psychology is needed for improving quality of life and bringing peace and happiness in life.

### **Need of Psychology for Quality of Life**

- As counselors-Psychologists aim to help people to adjust to life and live in a state of peace, contentment and happiness.
- Psychology is for individual's self-growth and also for the welfare of the society.
- The society is made up of individuals, if we improve the quality of life of individuals, we can change the entire society and bring peace to humanity.
- Material enrichment can be meaningful only when the user has a value system to govern it, otherwise it becomes like the use of nuclear energy for destruction as happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In other social sciences we talk of groups , we talk of countries, we talk of big things, we talk of money we talk of Panchayat Raj or governance. But who makes Panchayat Raj ? Who makes society ? Who uses money — It is man. If individuals are not leading an adjusted, happy and healthy life , society cannot be a happy society and at peace.

### **Enhancing Quality of life.**

Quality of life can improve by application of Psychology for the welfare of society through the enrichment of the individual self so that he/she can contribute to society.

This involves right from the child rearing practices to adequate socialization and value inculcation, in family, schools, community and other socio-environmental groups.

The author has developed a model of value systems on the basis of her surveys. (Mohan, 1997)

Adjustment to life is a continuous process. Proper socialization leads to a healthy attitude towards life. Living with peace too is a continuous effort and needs a lot of preparation and adjustments. These adjustments are at every stage of development. (Mohan, 2004a)

### **Developmental Stages and Need for Counseling.**

- Adjustment starts right from birth i.e., adjustment to breathing, temperature, nourishment, and to the type of reception the child gets.
- Next is adjustment to the babyhood period in which toilet training is imparted, weaning is done, and the child learns to walk and talk.
- The transition from home to the first school is a trying period for the child and requires help. This requires proper counseling so that this transition does not become traumatic.
- Next adolescence — a period of storms and stresses. Proper sex education and preparation for adulthood responsibilities must be imparted. This can be done through proper counseling for sexual development.
- Transition from the happy adjusted school days to either the world of work or entering higher learning, or professional education. Coping with the new environment, adjusting to a new peer group perhaps traumatic ragging — a very trying period and one may need formal help to tide it over.
- Entering the world of work and making adequate vocational adjustment.
- Adjusting to job escalation — climbing the pyramid, and adjusting to the children's leaving the 'nest'.
- Retirement and saying goodbye to formal work and all the power and status associated with it
- Coping with the process of aging — physical debilitation and mental slowing. Also the death anxiety — the endless wait.

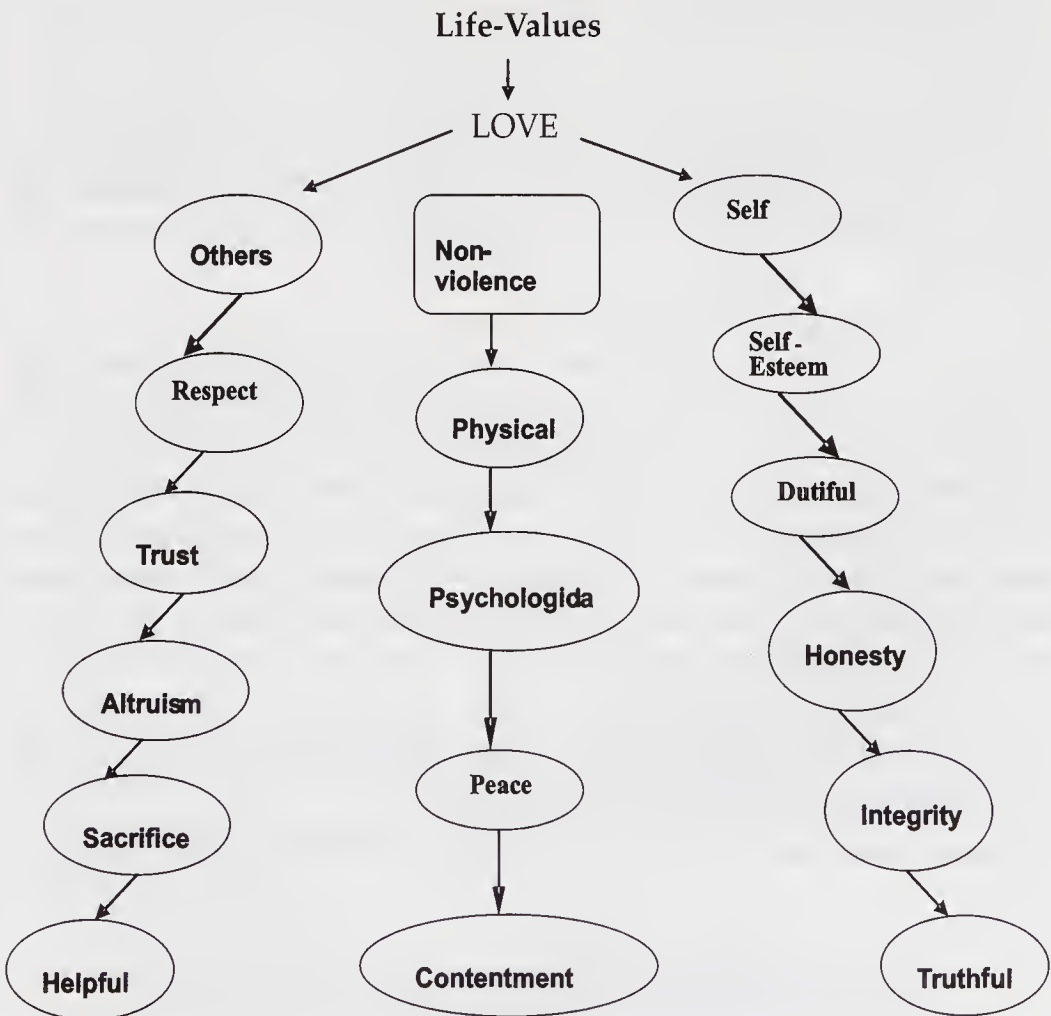
One has to learn to cope with these anxieties of various landmark developmental stages of life for which psychology is of utmost importance.

For peaceful life we have to develop healthy values so that we can live a life of grace and dignity.

### Peace and Morality

“Morality is the sum total of the values an individual harbors. Values can be universal or instrumental. The former are present in all societies and cultures, such as honesty, truthfulness, respect, and altruism. But the instrumental values can be culture and individual specific, such as leading a comfortable life, not trusting others till they prove trustworthy or vice versa.” (Mohan, 2003)

The author has developed a model of values on the basis of her research and workshops done to inculcate ethics and morality in members of co-operative societies. This data is based on more than 2000 individuals, spanning over five years of work. Love seems to be the controlling value at the macro level. With love there is non-violence both physical as well as psychological, i.e., hurting the feelings of others. The model is given below:



This model shows that each individual has some values towards him/her self and some towards others. We perceive ourselves in relation to others. Hence our values too are towards self and others. Love is a macro value as well as an emotion. Values are always linked with our feelings

The value of love is the most powerful value as well as emotion. The Bhakti Yoga or devotion is based on love. Love also leads to “Non-violence” towards self and others. Violence can be physical and psychological; through omission and commission. And violence can be of both ways — It can be violence towards others and may be violence to you also. It can be in the family or outside in the society like road rage. Studies have shown that Violence in the family, gives rise to children having violent orientation.

I feel that peace can not be without morality. In the animal world we do not talk about peace, there is might is right. But in the human world we talk of co-existence, we talk of peace, we talk of forgiveness and we talk of happiness. If we talk of peace, morality can not be very far away from that, We live in a country where Mahatma Gandhi fought for independence through non-violence and I am very proud admirer of Mahatma Gandhi. Recently, there had a picture also in which *Gandhigiri* was taught as a new concept. But what was that *Gandhigiri*? It's non-violence and truth of the first order. Non-violence is not weakness, It comes from inner strength. For inculcating value of “Peace”, children have to be taught to have courage and not power.

Today, there was news about Matoo girl, who was raped and then killed. I always tell people that a man who is truly empowered, and complete cannot rape women. Do we go to make our children complete or our just we leave them at the mercy of Video games, T.V, Computer and Internet? In Internet by default, you get all sort of sexual aberrations depicted. Photographically, this comes through various high placed engines, like MSN, Google, and Yahoo. We leave our children at the mercy of the Internet. Now for inculcating value of peace children have to be taught courage and not power or strength.

Moral development right from childhood helps a person to develop humane qualities. Some of the feelings which need control for peace & better quality of life are given below:

**Negative emotions:** The following are the ones an individual has to cope with:

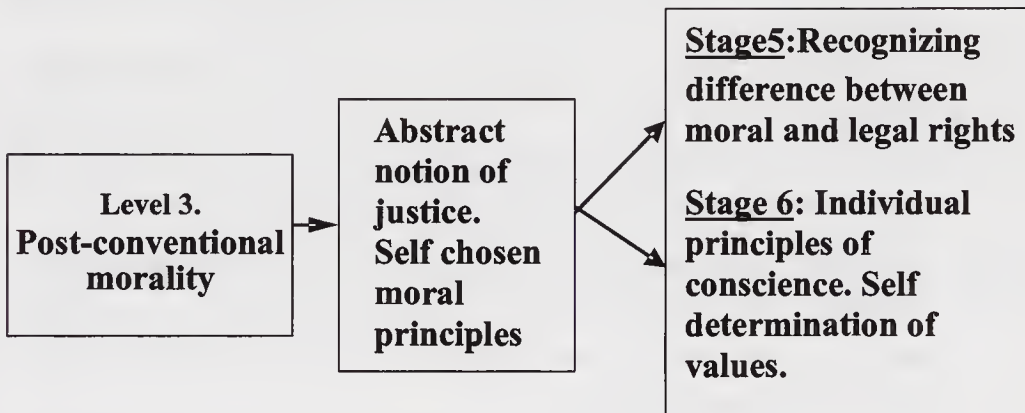
- Anger, frustration, annoyance.
- Fear, apprehensions,



- Jealousy, envy,
- Anxiety, stress, tension,
- Hatred,
- Loneliness,
- Guilt, shame
- Sorrow, sadness, despair

These negative emotions are one's major liabilities to be coped with. Learning skills to deal with these emotions can bring about an immense improvement in us.

Kohlberg (1966) had drawn a three stages development of morality in human beings. The first stage has external morality i.e., fear of punishment but the right form of morality is at the third stage as shown below:



## A Balanced and Peaceful Mind

Earlier the author (Mohan 2004a) had opined, "In India, development is a phenomenon, which is still on wheels. This growth has to be an all-round event in the life of people. Mere economic growth or literacy don't make the complete quality of life, it has to be education and inculcation of values for betterment or the development of the 'EQ' — the Emotional Quotient and the 'SQ' — the Social Quotient and Spiritual Quotient." Goleman (1995) has espoused the cause of developing the 'EQ' which consists of self awareness and social skills. The author too has developed a model for positive personality development which briefly imparts training in the following areas:

### Self Growth Skills

- Knowing oneself
- Knowing one's Negative Emotions and Coping with them
- Knowing one's Intra-personal Conflicts and resolving them

- Motivating Self
- Developing Innovative Thinking
- Developing Positive Attitude
- Developing Interpersonal Skills and Communication
- Developing Sensitivity: This is the skill to empathize with others; understand their feelings and relate to their hurts and pain
- Coping with one's Stress
- Time management and life goals

This all round development leads to empowerment which in turn leads to peace and happiness.

This balance comes through equanimity in all developments of the self, namely: (Mohan, (2004a)

- Physical — the external body, the physiological part or the “*Anna Maya kosha*”
- Cognitive — the mental functions, perceptions learning, thought process etc.
- Social — the interpersonal interaction with people around us, the empathetic attitude, the feeling of philanthropy or altruism.
- Emotional — the balance in our negative feelings and enhancement of positive feelings like love.
- Moral — the spiritual development, the ethical values have right and wrong, dos and don'ts.

Indian scriptures are replete with wisdom which if followed leads to well being. In Bhagwad Gita there is a concept of “*Stith Pragya*”. This is a state of balanced mind. This state of mind gives us true happiness and peace — “*Satt Chitt Anand*” — It means the development of a balanced personality.

- The “*Stith Pragya*” person has a balanced life as described in Bhagwad Gita:
- “Established within themselves, they are equal in pleasure and pain, praise and blame, kindness and unkindness. Clay, a rock, and gold are the same to them. Alike in honor and dishonor, alike to friend and foe, they have given up every selfish pursuit. Such are those who have gone beyond the *gunas*.” -Bhagavad Gita 14:24-25

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# 16

## *Social Science in Peace and Development*

*B.L. Abbi*

My paper will be somewhat different from what has already gone on here. I am not going to talk about either on specific country or like previous speakers on the question of peace of mind and its relation to development. I would like to talk about some selected issues relevant to social sciences and development. My paper is not meant to be comprehensive for it is intended to be supplementary to what others have to say. Development, as I see it, is a rather upsetting experience for those who undergo it. It is upsetting for individuals as well as communities, regions, nations and other wider socio-political entities. Minimally, and at its very best, it will, for individuals, involve a change in thought and action and some disturbing of normal routine. For communities and larger groups, one need to ask who is taking the initiative for development, what is the development about, and for



whose benefit is this? One has to also ask who are the proclaimed beneficiaries and who are the real beneficiaries. Chances are that the marginalized and the poor for whom the development is claimed to be intended are those very people who are going to be the real losers. They may be displaced from their homes, or their lives may be subjected to disruption or to changes without much benefit accruing to them. The main beneficiaries may be some others, possibly those who in the first place initiated the development. At any rate, the point, which I have to make, is that development is a disturbing experience. It may benefit some at the cost of others, or provide relatively more benefits to some less to others. The result may be social protest, passive contestation, or unleashing of violence. Here, ideally social science has a role to play. It can examine the professed rationality of the development projects. It can examine their economic and cultural appropriateness. It can provide the developer with local knowledge necessary for change in project design and policy formulation. To the extent, social scientists are committed to social justice, fair play and assertion of truth, however unpleasant it may be to power holders, they can provide useful perspectives and data to facilitate the completion of the project and achievement of social objectives. As in the case of development projects, social scientists can play a similar role in the facilitating of programmes of the nation state in respect of urbanization, industrialization, agriculture improvement, panchayati raj bodies, health care, family planning, gender equity, etc., whether or not such programmes go under the rubric of development or go under some other name.

Unfortunately, the experience of social scientists, working with most sponsored projects show that the positive promise of social science is hardly ever realized. Very often, social scientists are just asked to play only supplementary roles, mainly to justify the project about which major decisions have already been made. In other cases, the development agency has a readymade programme, which may not provide any real room for the intervention of the local social scientists. All they may be asked to do is to provide some limited amount of data. At any rate, they may be rarely allowed to play a significant role, in policy formulation or decision making about project identification and implementation. Given such a scenario, the role of social science and of local social scientists, in peace and development related issues, becomes rather problematic. I am not suggesting that the competence of social scientists has reached the level of an engineer or a doctor. There are very serious limitations to their initiatives. Often all that they can do is to give voice to competing interests and suggest ways of

reconciling those interests. To the extent they can help contain conflict and moderate bitterness of dissension, they contribute to the promotion of peace and development. This can be an important contribution, particularly in sensitive and volatile situations. Such few situations apart, social scientists, specially sociologists to which category I belong, are only minor players in the game of development. Their major opportunity to contribute to peace and development still remains to pursue independent research in universities and other academic bodies specifically devoted to such social science research. Here they can, and often do, critically examine not only particular development initiatives, but also the adequacy of currently important paradigms of social science research and suggest creative modifications in, or alternatives to them.

Now some brief comments on certain international aspects of social sciences.

In the capitalist world order today, which is characterised by globalisation and regulatory sphere of world trade organization, there are trans-national flows of commodities, finance, ideas, value and fast changing fashion in virtually all walks of life. Associated with these flows are the rising disparities of income in national polities all over the world. This growing trend of disparity is a significant feature of the current development scenario of the world and social scientists are hardly able to do anything about it. In fact, the prevailing neo classical oriented economic theory tends to lend it intellectual support by advocating an almost total reliance on the market to correct it without any form of state intervention. Another similarly disturbing feature is the rising level of unemployment, especially among the young people, which has reached a very high level both in the developed as well as in the underdeveloped world.

The capital-intensive nature of agriculture and the growing labour displacing power of modern industrial machines both contribute to it. Although the new and innovative machines also create new jobs by providing new sources of employment. But there is hardly any doubt that labour is being displaced as per unit of output and there is a growing intensity of competition in the market for manufactured goods. Thus unemployment is increasing and it is widespread. Equally distressing for countries like India is the growing disparity between urban and agriculture dependent rural areas. Further, crime and violence seem to be increasing all over the world. No less affected being developed countries, throwing a challenge to the notion of development. In these and similar other matters

affecting peace and development of the world, the contribution of social sciences remains that of a relatively neglected and under exploited resource. Therefore, social scientists really need to do some rethinking, not only about their own inadequacy, but also about the nature of the world within which peace and development will co-exist.





**SECTION V**  
*Relations among Nations  
in a Globalized World*



# 17

## *India and the European Union: Natural Partners for Peace and Development*

*Malcom Subhan*

*I* want to thank the Director-General of CRRID, Shri Rashpal Malhotra, and his colleagues for giving me the opportunity to address you at this prestigious international conference on "Peace and Development" in memory of Shri P. N. Haksar. Why the European Union? First of all, because India's relationship with the 25-nation European Union, or simply EU, is more comprehensive, more productive than of any other global player. For the last two years India and the EU have been engaged in the ground breaking task of turning their 45-year relationship into a strategic partnership — i.e., into a broad-based and stable relationship, one founded on the shared values of democracy, pluralism, rule of law and respect for human rights. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and his

Finnish counterpart, Matti Vanhanen, welcomed the progress made towards this goal at their summit meeting in Helsinki on October 13, 2006, the Seventh India-EU Summit, incidentally, since 2000.

The 25 member — soon to be 27 nation EU is a global actor in this multipolar world, with a population of 465 million and a Gross Domestic Product of one trillion euro, or \$1.2 trillion. The EU is dedicated to peace and development, through dialogue, to the point where it is ridiculed by the Americans as a "soft" power — i.e., one that favours dialogue over military confrontation in its foreign relations. May I just remind you that the 25-nation EU has been successful beyond all expectations in its initial goal, that of bringing peace and stability to a continent that had witnessed long centuries of warfare, including two world wars.

While the Americans want to build a steel and concrete wall along their border with their southern neighbour, Mexico, the EU has a neighbourhood policy, that offers its 15 neighbours to the east and across the Mediterranean sea a privileged relationship, one that goes beyond their existing agreements and provides for a deeper political relationship and fuller economic integration. Finally, the EU is the largest donor of technical and financial assistance to developing countries. Its financial assistance to the people of Palestine, for example, will reach 650 million euros this year. As for EU development assistance to India, it currently amounts to some 80 million euros a year, an amount which rises to 800 million euros if the sums committed by individual EU member states are included.

India has enjoyed a friendly and mutually beneficial relationship with the EU for 45 years, far longer, it seems to me, than with China, Japan, the ASEAN and even Russia. India was one of the first developing countries to accord diplomatic recognition to the 6-nation European Economic Community, (EEC), the fore-runner to tomorrow's 27-nation European Union. What began as a purely commercial relationship, embodied in the commercial cooperation agreement which India signed with the EEC in 1974, is today represented by the Strategic Partnership and Joint Action Plan, which the two Prime Ministers, Manmohan Singh and Tony Blair, adopted at the Sixth India-EU Summit, held in New Delhi just over a year ago. The EU is represented at these summits by the country holding the EU's presidency, which rotates every six months.

And, last but not the least, all the institutional machinery needed to give substance to India's partnership with the EU is already in place and working effectively. The oldest institution, the EU-India Joint Commission,



which oversees the implementation of the three successive EU-India cooperation agreements, was set up in 1974. Other mechanisms for promoting an on-going dialogue between India and the EU range from subject meetings between experts to annual meetings of foreign ministers, and Prime Ministers from both sides. Besides, the Indian and European business communities provide valuable input to the summit through their annual business summit, as well as through the India-EU Round Table of business leaders. The civil society too has its own Round Table, which is the brainchild of the former External Relations Minister, Jaswant Singh, which has been meeting each year since the year 2000.

The point that I am trying to make is that everything is in place for an effective India-EU partnership for peace and development. During early years of India-EU relations saw, New Delhi helped the EEC define its policy towards India and, subsequently, towards Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Negotiations for UK to join the 6-nation EEC were in full swing in 1962. New Delhi feared that once UK became a member, Indian exports to UK would fall, because they would no longer benefit from Commonwealth preferences — i.e. duty-free entry to the UK market.

The task of India's first ambassador to the EEC, His Excellency K. B. Lall, was to ensure that these exports did not suffer. Rather imaginatively, he put forward the suggestion that, once the entry negotiations were successfully concluded, the enlarged EEC would enter into a commercial cooperation agreement with India. A French veto on the UK's entry into the EEC brought these negotiations to an ignominious end, and it was not until UK joined the EEC in 1973 (along with Ireland and Denmark) that India was able to conclude a commercial cooperation agreement with the enlarged 9-nation EEC.

As this agreement, which came into force in 1974, was the first of its kind to be concluded by the EEC, it was something of a joint effort between Indian and European officials. What is more, it was to serve as the basis for similar agreements between the EEC and Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. A few years later New Delhi suggested that it was time to replace the earlier agreement with a more broad-based economic and commercial cooperation agreement. Once again India's diplomatic mission in Brussels provided considerable input, although the new agreement was not signed by India until 1982, because of a change of Government in New Delhi. I mention this in order to show you the importance of a close working relationship between India and the EU. Mani Shankar Aiyar, then a diplomat in the Indian mission to the EU, explained this closeness to me in

his own exuberant way, "Every day is India day at the European Commission, Malcolm," he told me, the Commission being the EU's executive arm.

India's relations with the EEC, and, subsequently, the EC and the EU, were driven by economic — mainly commercial — issues. These were the years when developing countries sought to close the trade gap, when the slogan was "Trade, not aid." Even so, economic and commercial issues were being more broadly defined with each passing year. The 1994 India-EU agreement on cooperation and partnership covered, in some detail, not only matters of commercial and economic cooperation but also a wide range of related topics, including agriculture and fisheries, science and technology; telecommunications, information and satellite technology; information and culture; the environment; human resource development, drug abuse control and development cooperation.

Economics and politics being two sides of the same coin, the need for political cooperation became increasingly evident. The signing of the 1994 agreement (by Pranab Mukherjee, as Commerce Minister of India) was accompanied by the release of a Joint Political Statement. It consolidated an embryonic political dialogue between India and the EU, and provided the institutional machinery for the dialogue to be conducted on an on-going basis, notably through regular meetings between the Indian Minister for External Relations and a "troika" of EU foreign ministers, notably from the country holding the EU's rotating presidency.

The quantum leap in political, as well as economic, cooperation came in 2000, when the first Summit between the EU and India was held in Lisbon. India was represented by Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the EU by the Portuguese Prime Minister, Antonio Guterres. Portugal, which held the EU's rotating presidency, clearly was the moving force behind the EU's decision to hold the Summit. India thus joined the ranks of the five global powers with whom the EU holds regular summits: China, Japan, Russia, the United States and Canada.

In the Joint Declaration which they issued at their very first Summit, India and the EU described themselves as "important partners in the shaping of the emerging multipolar world." They undertook to "build a coalition of interests in order to meet the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century." At the same time, India and the EU re-committed themselves to promoting "socio-economic development and prosperity, as well as international peace, stability and security." They recognized "the need to work together

more closely to promote peace, stability and security in their respective regions, and beyond, through bilateral dialogue and confidence building measures among the countries concerned."

Brave words indeed! Meanwhile the European Commission, the EU's executive arm in Brussels, submitted a detailed proposal for an India-EU Strategic Partnership to the EU Governments, the European Parliament and the Indian Government in June, 2004, all of whom responded positively that summer. The fifth Summit endorsed the Strategic Partnership in November, 2004, and undertook to draw up a detailed Action Plan for its implementation, to be sent to the sixth Summit for its approval. The fifth Summit also agreed "to install a dialogue on disarmament and non-proliferation" and "to consider regular exchange of views on possibilities for cooperation on themes like resolution of conflicts, peace operations and reconstruction."

The sixth Summit, held in New Delhi in 2005, with Prime Ministers Manmohan Singh and Tony Blair, adopted the "comprehensive and forward-looking Joint Action Plan". They did this, as their political declaration noted, "in acknowledgement of our Strategic Partnership and our shared responsibility to contribute to international peace, security and prosperity." The two Prime Ministers also reaffirmed a "common belief in the fundamental importance of multilateralism," and undertook to "work closely to promote effective multilateralism and strengthen UN peacekeeping and peace building through exchanging best practice and engaging in joint training." An India-EU security dialogue on global and regional security issues, disarmament and no-proliferation was also to be established.

The Joint Action Plan indicates how India and the EU will promote effective multilateralism; work together in peacekeeping and peace-building and provide post-conflict assistance; work towards achieving the goals of universal disarmament and the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; strengthen their cooperation in counter-terrorism efforts; foster regional cooperation in the EU and in SAARC, and uphold democracy and human rights. The Joint Action Plan also deals with enhancing economic policy dialogue and cooperation, and developing trade and investment.

All of which suggests that India and the EU, working together, will emerge as an irresistible force for peace and development, both at home and abroad. During the seventh Summit, held in Helsinki on October 13, 2006,



the Prime Ministers of India and Finland discussed the numerous threats to peace and indicated how best to deal with each of them. The list included North Korea's nuclear test; Iran's nuclear programme; the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; the formidable challenges that still lie ahead in Afghanistan and the violence in Sri Lanka.

The Helsinki Summit also issued a report on the implementation of the Joint Action Plan. Of the new India-EU consultation mechanisms that have been put into place, the only one of immediate interest to us provides for a security dialogue; the rest have to do with trade and investment. The security dialogue provided senior officials an opportunity to exchange views on global and regional security issues, disarmament and non-proliferation. Consultations also took place on cooperation in the fight against terrorism and organized crime.

To be quite honest, the record is quite meager when it comes to cooperation in the field of effective multilateralism. India and the EU cooperated in the past year on UN reform. They supported the establishment of the UN Human Rights Council and the UN Peace Building Commission. India, along with up to eight EU member states are represented on these two bodies. "Peacemaking in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" was the theme of an EU-India conference held in New Delhi.

Economic and commercial issues continue to dominate EU-India relations. This is clear from the Joint Action Plan and the first report on its implementation. The fact is that the economic and commercial issues are sharply focused, the commercial and financial stakes are high and the goals pursued by each side are clearly defined. What is more, responsibility for trade and agricultural matters is legally vested with the European Commission. The Trade Commissioner, Peter Mandelson is the EU's chief trade negotiator, although he does operate within the framework of a negotiating mandate approved by the 25 EU countries. The Doha round of trade negotiations is a good example of this.

The plain truth is that the EU countries have found it easier to have a common policy in matters of foreign trade; to have a common agricultural policy; to transform their separate national markets into a single market; to replace national currencies with a single currency, the euro, etc. than to have a common foreign and security policy. National interests are involved when it comes to issues of foreign trade also, but EU countries have been prepared to put the interests of the EU as a whole before national interests in such matters (although less readily than before).

Since 1970, the EU countries have tried to coordinate their positions on foreign policy issues by issuing joint statements through a process



known as European Political Cooperation. However these statements, condemning acts of aggression or terror around the world, or supporting peace initiatives, however, are never a prelude to action. And as the decision to issue such statements has to be unanimous, the EU countries are silent on issues that one or another of them finds particularly sensitive!

However, the EU countries recognize the need to be able to speak with one voice in world affairs if they want to be taken seriously. They obviously are unhappy that their economic and commercial clout is not matched by their political clout. The 1992 Treaty of Maastricht does provide for a common foreign and security policy. The EU even has a Foreign Minister, of sorts. His title is that of High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy. The present holder of that post is Javier Solana, a former NATO Secretary-General. Even so, the EU's larger member countries have been reluctant to turn over much authority on matters of foreign policy and security to the EU. Essential authority remains, therefore, with the member countries, although the European Commission and the European Parliament, if to a lesser extent, are associated with the decision making process. Even so, unanimity is required on all key decisions.

Does this mean that no effective political cooperation is possible between India and the EU, except on issues of little importance to them? Must we write off India-EU political cooperation as all talk and little or no action? Are the various political declarations and joint statements from which I have quoted, just so much waste paper? Indeed, have I deliberately misled you with the very title of my paper - "The European Union and India - Natural Partners for Peace and Development"?

Of course not! India and the EU are natural partners because they have been working together, quite effectively, for the last 45 years, so that partnership comes naturally to them. They are natural partners, according to the Joint Statement issued by them at the Helsinki Summit, as the two largest democracies in the world and global actors in a multipolar world. Their partnership is firmly based on the shared values of democracy, pluralism, the rule of law and respect for human rights. To which you can add that both India and the EU are managing ethnic, linguistic and political diversity quite successfully, and that both favour dialogue over confrontation.

But India and the EU are natural partners for yet another reason: both are "soft" powers. The notion of soft power has been developed by Prof. Joseph Nye, of Harvard University. He distinguishes three sources of power: military, economic and soft. Soft power is the ability, according to Prof. Nye, to get the outcomes you want by attraction rather than coercion

or payment. Soft power arises from three sources: culture, political values and foreign policies. In India's case the obvious cultural sources are Bollywood and yoga, the political values are democracy and secularism and, as regards foreign policies, the emphasis on multipolarity and regional and international cooperation.

The EU, in fact, is attracted to India because of its soft power: the cultural and artistic achievements of its people; the wealth of intellectual, including scientific and business talent; its readiness to engage in dialogue. May I suggest that by developing its soft power Indian diplomacy will be returning to the soft power deployed by India immediately after its independence, and embodied in the *Panchshila*, in non-violence, in cooperation across continents?

By using their soft power India and the EU, I believe, can make a success of their strategic partnership. They could also make a difference on the world stage, especially now that attempts at pre-emptive strikes and regime change have failed to bring about peace and development. But both sides will have to show greater political will in their relationship with each other. New Delhi has preferred to deal with the major EU capitals rather than with Brussels, home to the key EU institutions — the Council of Ministers, the European Commission and the European Parliament. This is a pity, because New Delhi nevertheless has sent some of its most talented diplomats and officials to Brussels!

I have not referred to China or the United States. I myself would like to analyze a triangular relationship between India, China and the EU; and I am alert to the importance to India of a cooperative relationship with China at the regional level. But I have chosen to focus on the EU-India relationship. Having followed the twists and turns of this relationship for the last 45 years, I still feel it is the most profitable for India, at all the levels — national, regional or international.

# 18

## *The Arab World: Unity and Disunity*

*Maria Vidyasova*

*T*here are two great games being played out in the Arab world or two great tendencies, clearly opposed to one another. One, upon which a lot of writings had been focused, is the myth of Arab Unity (a very popular issue during the 1960s decade), another is “real politic” proper in the region's governments since most of its States have got political independence.

The 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s was a period of widespread development of the anti-colonialist movement, but among the nationalist circles of Arab countries, the concept of nationalism was perhaps more likely to refer to “Syrian” or “Egyptian” or else “North-African” (referring to the idea of the Great Maghrib) rather than “Arab” nationalism.

The conflicting national political trends in the Middle East and North Africa were and are now defined by particular interests of national elites that emerged between the two World Wars or (in some countries) after the World War II, i.e., at the time when the Arab League came into existence. The foundation of such a regional entity, though it was organized under the impact of Great Britain, was followed by the revival of impetuous Pan-Arabism.

Even Habib Bourguiba, the future President of independent Tunisia, who was obviously indifferent towards Pan-Arabism, went in 1945 to Cairo and spent there four years trying to use the Arab League influence and voices of the Arab members of UNO in order to push forward the resolving of his country's (then a French protectorate) problems. So, while being a clear-cut Tunisian nationalist, he used the then - current Pan-Arabic discourse.

As a concept, "Pan-Arabism" has tended to be used in the literature interchangeably with other terms such as "Arabism" and "Arab nationalism", thus blending the sentiment of cultural proximity with the desire of political action. Originally the idea of Arab Unity came into being after the "Great Arab Revolt" of 1916 (the origin of the short-lived Arab kingdom with Damascus as its capital) and the abrogation of Khalifat in Turkey. This decision of Kemal Attaturk shocked many Muslim thinkers, subsequently a project to nominate the King of Egypt as Khalif had been under discussion, but was abandoned.

Much greater role as a catalyst of Arab nationalism was played by the British proposal to implement partition of Palestine. It engendered such huge fears of the possibility of a Jewish state that immediately after its announcement, and its acceptance by Emir Abdallah of Trans-Jordan, plans were set afoot for the convening of a Pan-Arab congress. And indeed, two months later, over 400 nationalists from six countries converged on the Syrian city of Bludan to begin a conference that produced a vehemently anti-Zionist resolution and an absolute rejection of any partition of Palestine (1937). In the person of Mufti Hadj Amin al-Husayni, Palestinians had a popular nationalist leader whose influence extended far beyond the confines of Palestine. His outspoken collaboration with Germany and Italy on the eve and during the World War II discredited the Arab nationalism which was considered by allied powers as an instrument of Nazi penetration in the Middle East and North Africa.

After the Second World War with the emergence of Israel and the Arabs defeat in 1948, the Middle Eastern conflict came to be a core of the



revived Pan-Arabism (or Arab nationalism) which took a more ripe form than the earlier one, prior to the war. It was not linked exclusively with the anti-Zionist movement and anti-Israel struggle and sentiments.

Alongside rising hopes that the Arab League could take the role of an active actor in the field of international relations, the Arab world in general was going to undergo modernization and began to search its way as something distinct from Westernization.

Such an astute scholar as Albert Hourani pointed in 1946 to the disease of "Levantinism" which had spread through Arab society, describing it as "to live in two worlds or more at once without belonging to either" and concluded, looking to the future, "There is only one bulwark against Levantinism: that the Arabs should believe in their own possibilities and their power, given the necessary conditions, of building up once more a world of thought and activity which they can call their own, and through which they can make their contribution to the world civilization" (Hourani: 1946). However, the author could not perceive at that time what would be the form or content of the new or renewed Arab world "of thought and activity". This purpose is still vague now, in 2006, and the Arab Unity remains a dream.

In the meantime, policymakers were using, with more or less passion, the slogan of Arab Unity to pursue their own ends. The Gamal Abd al-Nasir concept of Egypt as a center (center-power) within three circles (the Arab, African and Muslim ones) was formulated in his well-known book *The Philosophy of Revolution*, published in 1954. But the United Arab Republic (UAR), formed by the fusion of Egypt and Syria on February 1, 1958, came as a stunning surprise to most Arabs and non-Arabs. The adherents of unionist ideas believed in the eventual amalgamation of Arab countries, but no one was prepared for an event of this kind. The reason, which forced a precarious 'amalgamation' of Egypt and Syria, was the Baghdad Pact. As early as the spring of 1955, the Prime Minister of Syria, Khalid al-Azm, proposed the integration of the two armies, economic and financial co-operation between the two countries, and greater collaboration in foreign affairs. The Egyptians were not ready to even contemplate such a proposal. Nasir preached Arab nationalism and came out as its symbolic figure in the wake of the Suez Crisis, but was enough of a realist to appreciate the many obstacles to its actual realization. However he was in a way obliged by his aura of being the main Arab hero to bless the idea of the Egypt-Syrian convergence.

Previously King Saud had allied his country with Egypt against Iraq because of his family's historical enmity with the Hashimites, but had

radically changed Saudi foreign policy with the US initiative, launched in January 1957. This later on came to be known as the “Eisenhower Doctrine”. As a consequence, Saudi Arabia had attempted to stop the union between Egypt and Syria (even a plan to assassinate Nasir, as he disclosed, was made by Riyadh).

Meanwhile, the Iraqi-Syrian rivalry played its role as well, but just in the opposite direction. UAR was born and failed within three years. The army coup in Damascus wrecked a structure under which the Syrians were feeling themselves occupied by foreigners.

During the following years, until Anwar Sadat's coming to power, Egypt remained the sole member of this strange union. After 1971 a concept of the Egyptian nation, going back to the rule of Mohammed Ali-pasha (1805-1849), reestablished its hold on the Nile borders.

The Americans during the intense Cold War era tried their best to prevent the unionist trends in the Arab region, so they took the false appearance of anti-imperialist movements and were supported by USSR. As a result, “it has been the unhappy fate of the Middle East to be the stage for an extraordinary amount of conflict, much of it generated within the region itself, and the rest provoked from without” (Richards and Waterbury: 1990).

Among a multitude of endogenous internal conflicts in the Arab region we can mention the problems between Egypt and Tunisia (the latter country revolted against the Egyptian hegemony in 1958 and broke its diplomatic relations with Cairo), the rivalry and even local wars between Algeria and Morocco, the recent conflicts between Lebanon and Syria, and so on. Nevertheless, the Iraqi invasion in Kuwait was the most striking instance.

The chronic Arab-Israel conflict is nowadays the main and probably the unique factor that preserves survival of Arab nationalism (in its pure and secular form), which is submerged by a sort of “Islamic nationalism”. The latter was always inherent in “Arabism”, but it gained a leading role in the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was not exported from Iran, except in such areas as South Lebanon. The main cause of its appearance, or renaissance (given that Muslim-brothers movement dates from 1928 and Egypt is its home-land) was the Arabs defeat in six-day war with Israel in 1967 which produced despair and disillusion all over the Arab countries. The additional cause that allowed 'Islamism' to get terrain in Middle East and North Africa region was the economic crisis of the mid-1980s.

Some scholars emphasize the difference between “New Arabism” proper and Nasir’s Arabism of the 1950s and 1960s. The new one, which emerged toward the later part of the twentieth century, “was centered on intellectual elites and driven by a small sector of the media that was relatively free of governmental control” (Dawisha: 2003).

Certainly, the slogan of Arab Unity remains an essential part of the ideological doctrine of the ruling Baath party in Syria, but it seems to be devoid of any content. In other Arab countries official ideas of “local” national identity are more popular. For example, in Algeria since the mid-1990s a dual national identity has been recognized: Arab-Islamic and Berber.

It is worthy of notice that the Middle East through history has always been on the centre-stage of world politics, and it has never been homogenous.

The developments after the end of colonial era have produced rapid differentiation between the States of this area from the economic and political points of view. Trade exchanges of these countries with Europe and USA are more intensive than between the Arab countries themselves. All projects of regional economic integration failed. The difference in incomes and social conditions of life between them dramatically aggravated.

Consequently, a question arose: by what modern, geopolitical, criterion is it possible to define these of States and countries (of the so called Arab world) as a “region”?

It seems that actually the only operative criterion of such a definition could be the framework of the Arab League, although its role in international affairs, including the regional stage of Middle East and North Africa, is obviously weak, and the future of this political organisation is doubtful.

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# 19

## *India-US-China Relations: Impact on Peace and Development in Asia*

*Ouyang Liping*

China and India are neighbours. The year of 2006 is the 20<sup>th</sup> year for China's continuous economic growth averagely at the rate of 7.9 per cent. For India, I would like to quote from the article, titled "The India Model" of the recent *Foreign Affairs*, July-August, written by Gurcharan Das, that "India's economy grew at 6 percent a year from 1980 to 2002 and 7.5 per cent a year from 2002-2006, making it the world's fourth-largest economy. Soon it will surpass Japan to become the third-largest."

It is known that China has been pursuing her comprehensive foreign policies with the peripheral diplomacy as the utmost priority and a couple of years ago, China advocated the establishing of a good, stable and jointly prosperous neighbourhood with its immediate neighbours, and has achieved tremendous success in that endeavour.



On the other front, with the continuous development of the economy and ever-increasing national strength, and based mainly upon South Asia, India is walking out of the Sub-continent, developing a more active diplomatic agenda aimed at expanding her influence on other parts of the Asian continent, and even on the world. The recent years have witnessed the frequent high-level official visits between India and global powers as well as some regional powers, India-USA, India-China, and India-Japan, Indian-Central Asia, Indian-ASEAN, Indian-SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization), Indian and East Asia (East Asia Summit) relations have grown. India's active participation in Asian affairs will certainly help and promote cooperation and exchanges among all the Asian countries.

The two giants' revival, especially the enhancement of the mutual relationship, would be of great importance to the rising of the Orient, or the whole of Asia.

Since the 1990s, both India and China have undergone a series of diplomatic adjustments with each other. In recent years, the mutual relationship has turned from "cold peace" to "hot cooperation". On the economic front, the bilateral trade has been soaring. In 2004, the trade volume stood at \$13.6 billion, which jumped to \$18.73 billion in 2005. It is expected that the trade volume will exceed \$20 billion by the end of 2006. China has set a clear objective — by 2010, bilateral trade should reach \$50 billion. By then, China will surpass the United States to become India's largest trade partner. India will also be among China's top 10 trade partners. To meet the goals, the two sides have already set up six working groups to cope with the trade problems. On the political front, both sides showed great flexibility and sincerity to resolve their long-standing border dispute and decided in 2003 to seek a settlement on a political basis, rather than on the basis of legal or historical claims. During Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao's visit to India in April, 2005, important talks were held with Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and resulted in the two governments signing a joint statement and declaring the establishment of strategic cooperative partnership between the two countries for peace and prosperity. The bilateral disagreement is narrowing in the light of mutual respect and consultation; for example, the two countries have signed an agreement on political guiding principles for border disputes. On the military front, in May, 2006, Indian Defence Minister, Pranab Mukherjee made his first trip to China and the two countries have signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on the mutual defence cooperation. The two sides pledged to deepen military exchanges between the armed forces of the two

countries. The year of 2006 also marked "The Year of Sino-Indian Friendship", pushing the mutual friendship to a climax.

Compared with India, China's economic growth has been exposed too much to the limelight, aroused too much attention and even some worries and suspicions, but India has been quietly catching up and only in the last couple of years received a worldwide notice. This is good for India.

### **Current India-US-China Relations**

Another factor of the prominent emergence of the two countries lies in their recent development of the relationship with USA. The latter, the only superpower in the world, attaches high importance to Asia and is seeking close cooperative ties with both China and India. For India-US relations, during his recent trip to India in early March this year, President Bush made a clear statement that US had an ambitious agenda with India and the agenda is practical. The bilateral relationship has never been better. India is a global leader and US would strengthen the important strategic partnership with India. As for China-US relations, the issue has always attracted world attention since it has seen a lot of ups and downs. The two countries are so much in need of each other, having a lot of things in common in some fields, but also have a lot of difficulties that are hard to overcome in the short run. Recently both of the countries readjusted their positions and policies and adopted a very pragmatic approach towards each other. China and USA now enjoy a sound relationship and their mutual cooperation covers almost every area. America sent a clear signal to China last year by using the word "responsible stakeholder" and China, though having a different elaboration and understanding of that term, took the point well on the whole.

A healthy India-US-China trilateral relationship is crucial to Asian peace and development. And we are glad to see the three countries are currently enjoying their best time in terms of the interrelationship, as well as the bilateral relationship, which is rarely seen in the trilateral history. This positive trend would in some degree bring a bright future to the whole Asia and we hope such situation would continue.

### **Some Potential Worries**

In the eyes of some of the Chinese, India-US relations and China-US relations are not quite equal. In other words, America holds different attitudes towards the rising of China and rising of India.

With regard to India, things are quite different, we have never heard of "India Threats" uttered from the American world, even when the

relations were cool. US policy on India is a comprehensive engagement. It is America that voluntarily opens the door wide and pursues substantial cooperation with India; for instance, establishing strategic partnership with India, reaching an historic agreement on civil nuclear deal, deepening the security cooperation ties, building the foundation of a durable defense relationship, expanding economic support on India's economic reform and liberalization, trade and investment, market access for goods and services, establishing and co-funding the \$30 million Bi-National Science and Technology Commission to generate collaborative partnerships in science and technology, jointly exploring further cooperation in civil space, including space exploration, satellite navigation, and earth science.

With regard to China, Americans hold a different attitude. For a period of time, "China Threats" was extensively talked about in America, especially in the security and military circle. This attitude towards China has many causes and the most important reason is America's habitual distrust of China. China and US have different ideology, different concepts of value, different political system, and America also faces the reality of having to deal with a fast-growing China in East Asia, where the former has an important security interest (besides the Taiwan issue) and is afraid its interest would be challenged by "the uncertain China". Bearing this in mind, America sees China through coloured glass, with a strong prejudice. Therefore, America has still maintained arms embargo against China and blocks EU from lifting the sanction on China. These are all the negative factors affecting Sino-US bilateral relations. Now "China Threat" in America is no longer a mainstream obsession and "China Issue" is no longer a focus of heated dispute in the presidential elections due to better understanding and cooperation of each other. And also on the Chinese side, we find much less criticism or suspicion over American intention and motivation towards China compared with earlier times. What we see now is the increasing cooperation and frequent exchanges conducted at all levels. In these two years, we have seen a lot of American prominent figures visiting China

When India and US got closer, some people said that America might want India to serve as a counterweight to China. Such opinions are also heard in China. Here I would ask some questions:

- Does India indeed need America to counter China now?
- Is it America's present strategic priority to set up encirclement against China?
- In case the above two hypothesis were real, should China be panic-stricken?



People may have different answers. Here I would like to share my brief views with you. In the past, India and China did have a short period of unhappy history over the border issues and the two countries used to be in a period of “cold peace”. Once in a while, “China Threat” was heard in India, but India has never sought the big powers as allies to counterbalance China.

As a leader of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), India is now emerging as a new big power. Her closer relations with America as well as recognition as a global power by America is really what India has long dreamed for. But what India needs is the equal-footing relationship with big powers, not for or against any third party. India may have suspicion and sensitivity on China's rising, but it does not mean it will sacrifice China as a precondition for its own rising. India-US and India-China relations are not zero-sum game.

In this world, no single power or group (India, China or Russia) is in a position to take on the might of the US. The history of international relations has never seen such distribution of power in favor of one nation and in the foreseeable future, America is certain to remain the dominant nation in the world. But even then, America's power is still limited and it needs other nations' cooperation on many issues, both in the traditional security and non-traditional security areas. America has realized this and that is why it seeks and ensures its cooperation both with China and India.

## Conclusion

Building a healthy India-US-China relation serves the interests not only of the three nations but also of the whole Asia as well as the world. The positive relations between India-China, India-US as well as Sino-US are a win-win for all of the three.

In order to continue and further develop this positive trend, the three nations should explore new and wider areas for cooperation; for instance, cooperation on energy, maritime security, counter-terrorism, combatting cross-border organized crime, and reducing the misperceptions of each other. For China and India, the two countries have a lot in common. Besides security issues, they have other common problems to address, for instance, how to manage and feed the huge population, how to deal with corruption, eliminate poverty, grow bilateral trade and establish comprehensive confidence building measures to improve and stabilize the mutual relationship.



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*India-Japan-China-ASEAN  
Relations: A Non-Official  
Japanese View*

*H. Yamaguchi*

*H*ow has Japan modeled herself on the then Western patterns during her modernization process? Why did Japan, after nearly three hundred years of internal peace, fought one war after another for half a century, starting with the war with China in 1894-95 and ending with the World War II in 1945? Now what will be the role of Japan in promoting peace and development in Asia? This paper reflects over these issues.

**Constitutional Question in Japan**

The public opinion in Japan has fatally split over some constitutional issues, which are, whether or not the present Constitution has been imposed upon her by the Allied occupation forces, whether under the present Constitution Japan has the “intrinsic right of individual and collective self-defense” as stated in the UN Charter, and

related matters. Japan is now under a strong US pressure to revise the famous Article 9, which not only abandons war and threat or use of force, but goes a step further and says that the country is not allowed to have army, navy, air force and other war potentials. The Preface to the Constitution says that “we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world”. Does it not remind us of what Gandhiji said about protecting the independence of India, which was to be achieved by non-violence, also by non-violence, depending on “the goodwill of the whole world”? Of course his ideals have been all but discarded. Look at the September 11 issue of *Outlook*, and the letters to the Editor in its subsequent issues.

### **Japan's Alliance with US**

An elderly Indian gentleman said, in a workshop on foreign military bases in Japan, that it would be out of the question to talk of the withdrawal of such bases, as Japan's relations with her Asian neighbours are not good. In reality, however, it is the other way round. Japan has been kept aloof from the rapidly changing Asian scene by the Allied occupation, and regained her independence in the midst of the Cold War, with the Korean War raging near-by.

### **Japan and the North Korean Nuclear Issue**

- The nature of the Japan-South Korea Treaty in 1965 has made it next to impossible to normalize relations with North Korea, by stating that the Republic of Korea is the only lawful government in the Korean Peninsula.
- Japan officially recognizes the major US role in the fight against the growing threat of international terrorism, depends on the US nuclear deterrence, and takes note of the military threat by China and North Korea. Japan's response to the changes around her has tended to be more military than diplomatic. She ignores how, around the year 1979, both the Al-Qaida and Iraq's Hussein government have been encouraged in accordance with the US convenience. She also ignores how, from 1983 onwards, suicide terrorism has grown in the name of a religion.
- Therefore the author doubts Japan's credentials in censuring the North Korean explosion in a one-sided manner. In abhorring the nuclear weapons, it is among the firsts. But criticism of that country's policy should be put together with calling into question

the present Non-Proliferation Treaty system and the futile theory of nuclear deterrence simultaneously.

### **Japan's Contribution to Asian Peace and Development**

- Japan is not known to have shown keen interest in the democratization of Asian countries. It is the movement in those countries that has brought democratization. Look at the Kwangju Incident, South Korea, in May 1980, as an example.
- Has Japan contributed to poverty alleviation in Asia? There is a wide gap between how the economic relations have developed with Asian countries and how the general public in Japan wishes them to be like.
- Japan's candidature for a Permanent Membership in the UN Security Council in the G-4 Scheme has been seriously called into question in the region. Why?
- ASEAN is the model for peace and development in Asia at present, and as such is Japan's positive partner, with the TAC succeeding Bandung, although it also has its difficulties, as is shown by the recent coup in Thailand.
- It is essential for Japan to make her relations with US less military, if she really wishes to have close relations with Asia on an equal footing.

# 21

## *India-China-Russia Influence on the Global World and Development: A View From Central Asia*

*Abdusamat Khaydarov*

**T**he twentieth century has entered mankind's history as the epoch of global shocks which have begun what is essentially a new development stage of the world's community and international relations. Disintegration of the former bipolar system, loss by Russia of the "equal partner" status with the USA, and transition to other structures of international relations was accompanied by the formation of new regional power centers aspiring for meaningful participation in global political processes.

Among such states claiming a leadership role, it is possible to identify the successors of two most ancient civilizations — India and China. Both states possessing extensive territory and very large population<sup>1</sup> have entered the twenty-first century with great hopes and new prospects of development. High rates of economic development for the last two decades



have allowed these states to take a key place in the political life of the Asian continent.

With the beginning of the new century one also finds the gradual returning of Russia to the high table of key players of the modern international relations. This is the result, first of all, of the strengthening of its economy. Cooperation of these three states has played an important role in the formation of the post-war world order. At the same time, actual problems of national re-construction, such as strengthening of the central authority, suppression of centrifugal tendencies and the security of the state, have revealed both congruence, and divergence of geopolitical interests of the three largest powers in the Eurasian continent.

Fundamental circumstances, common for the all three countries, are their aversion to the unipolar world, and the fact that none of them can solve key problems of development in a hurry. While Russia and China aspire to reduce "strategic power" gap between themselves and the US, India aspires to reduce a similar gap with China. All three countries aspire to enter the world technological markets and to stimulate activity in the basic international structures.

In this situation, special note should be taken of the Delhi initiative of E.M.Primakov (December, 1998), that supported the creation of the "strategic triangle" — Moscow-Delhi-Beijing. This union could become not simply a military-political alliance of three largest non-western powers, but a "corner stone" of the new, multipolar world, of which each "corner" will be, in turn, connected with other states, set of similar "many-sided" relations.

Russia, India, and China believe that the United Nations should play a major role in the new multipolar world, as a democratic international organization, — as an arbitrator, taking into account the interests of all members of the world community, not only those of a superstate-hegemon.

Most analysts pose the natural question: What is the possibility of actually carrying out this strategic alliance of Moscow-Delhi-Beijing? Untill now, between Russia and China, (and China and India) there are a number of disagreements, including rather significant ones such as territorial disputes, questions on nuclear tests and the illegal immigration problem. Neither from the cultural-civilization point of view, nor from the economic point of view, are Russia, India and China able to form homogeneous space. The situation is also complicated by a heavy political heritage of the "cold war"; in particular, a mutual distrust caused by the Russian-Chinese and Indo-Chinese military collisions of 1960s. Nevertheless, comprehension of

the common strategic interests became possible in new historical conditions from the end of 1980. This has led to an appreciable warming of mutual relations of the Russia-India-China triangle<sup>2</sup>.

In the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there was a necessity of revision of India's geopolitical strategy and replacement of the traditional "ideological" orientation with a "geo-economic" one. In the new conditions, India has to become more open to the world's financial streams, to lead the gradual liberalization of the economy, which successfully proved itself in modern China and in the new industrial countries of Asia, and to start focusing on exports. These measures should promote the strengthening of Indian national economy and assist India to enter the ranks of the world's influential developed states, and to become the center of economic cooperation in Southern Asia<sup>3</sup>.

In December of 1988, Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, visited Beijing on the invitation of the government of Peoples Republic of China, taking a big step towards normalization of the India-Chinese relations, which were deadlocked as a result of the Chinese-Indian boundary war of 1962. In May 1991, the agreement on the East site of the Russian-Chinese border, which was a subject of twenty years' dispute, was signed by Russia and China. During the same period, there was a rather small recession of the Russia-Indian relations, caused by Russian foreign policy priorities, which displaced the West's and Russia's position on the Kashmir question.

From 1992 mutual relations within the framework of the triangle developed stably and confidently, with a regular exchange of high-level visits. In September 1993, an agreement on peace along the actual line of control was signed between China and India, which led to a series of bilateral agreements, concerning confidence-building measures in the border zone. In 1994, the Moscow Declaration on interests protection of the multinational states, which confirmed the necessity of "unconditional observance of principles of territorial integrity and state unity respect" of the multinational states as "one of their key factors" of maintenance abilities, was signed<sup>4</sup>.

The high-grade bilateral cooperation between Russia, India and China was raised to a new strategic level in April 1997, when during the Moscow stay of President of the Peoples Republic of China Jiang Zemin, leaders of both states signed the Declaration on multipolar peace and formation of the new international order in which relations of Russia and China have been designated as being equal-in-rights forming "a confidential partnership directed at strategic interaction in 21<sup>st</sup> century"<sup>5</sup>.

As for the positive shift in Indo-Chinese relations, it is possible to consider the results of the May 2000 negotiations in Beijing between the President of India, K.R. Narayanan, and the President of the Peoples Republic of China, Jiang Zemin. Leaders of these two countries came to a common opinion on a number of international questions; in particular, the necessity to have a joint Indo-Chinese initiative to the UN, directed at protection of the rights and interests of developing countries and establishment of the new, fair world order. Both sides accepted, that it is necessary for them to overcome former rivalry for influence in Asia and to accede to mutually advantageous cooperation, in which development of information technologies and struggle against the international terrorism were named as priority directions.

In July 2000, during the official visit of Russian President, V.V. Putin, to China, the joint Beijing declaration was signed, in which both sides emphasized, "Development of equal-in-rights confidential partnership relations and strategic interaction has a great value for strengthening of widespread cooperation between China and Russia, consolidation of friendship between peoples of China and Russia, promotion of formation of the multipolar world and the new fair and rational international order"<sup>6</sup>. The culmination of Russian efforts for strengthening of the strategic interaction within the framework of the "triangle" became the signing of the Russia-Indian Declaration on strategic partnership during the October 2000 visit of Putin to Delhi, in which India and Russia expressed their common interest in "formation of the fair, equal in rights and balanced multipolar world which will provide security and stability for next generations"<sup>7</sup>.

Thus, today it is not the Eurasian new military-political block, aiming at placing under threat someone's national security, but a natural geopolitical union formed to pursue more complex and long-term tasks, with the aim of the formation of the multipolar world and steady development, rather than simple opposition to "the American domination".

The Russia-Indian and Russia-Chinese rapprochement and expansion of interaction within the limits of "Moscow-Delhi-Beijing" axis assumes inclusion within the framework of the alliance of such general interests, such as:

- Interest of all three countries in facilitating the international balance of forces and establishing a security mode in Asia-Pacific region



- Regional and global cooperation
- General interest to counteract problems of terrorism, religious extremism, and drug trafficking

The analysis of interaction between Russia, China and India in the system of modern international relations allows us to make a number of conclusions concerning the idea of tripartite interaction, its development prospects and possible influence on world processes.

- Today, views of Russia, China and India on many international problems are very close. All three states oppose establishment of the unipolar world and stand up for construction of multipolarity, strengthening of the international cooperation institutions, first of all the United Nations.
- All three states accept economic globalization as the objective reality and aspire to benefit from it; however, they characterize political globalization in the form of unipolar and individual hegemony of the USA as a negative phenomenon. Preservation of national cultures and identities, deep cooperation, interaction and dialogue of civilizations are necessary and important element of their positions.
- All three states require stability for maintenance of their economic development and prosperity. Russia, India, and China struggle for maintenance of a worthy place in the international community, in keeping with their historical experience and contribution to civilization, world culture and maintenance of the general peace and development.
- Thus, partner relations based on a generality of interests and the basis of strategic cooperation on a line of major international problems are common positions.
- Based on this review it is possible to describe the basic positions about the Russia-India-China "Triangle":
- "Triangle" is possible and desirable as a real geopolitical counterbalance to a developing unipolar American world and as the beginning of the creation of new "bipolar system"<sup>8</sup>.
- "Triangle" in general is impossible, as all its "corners" are economically, (especially China and India) and politically fastened to US and pro-American potential, thus, outweighing the anti-hegemonic desires of the participants.



- The System is possible in the “cut down” variation, without the China-Indian vector which is the most complex in comparison with China-Russian relations. Russia-Indian relations are practically insoluble.
- Interaction is probable, exclusively on a bilateral basis. Basic “spring” of this interaction is the requirement of Russian military deliveries (Military-technical co-operation) for India and China and of Indian-Chinese technologies and investments for Russia.
- The “Triangle” is possible, but exclusively based on inter-civilization non-political interaction, not directed against third countries and based on midland economic integration and co-operation.

Thus, in the creation of tripartite system relations there are significant difficulties. In conditions of fast changing modern world it is difficult to make any forecasts, however it is obvious that prospects of tripartite cooperation really exist. The most real variant is the usage of partnership relations as a base for cooperation based on mutual arrangements and consultations on most acute problems, having the prime relation to national interests of partners.

Hence, possible affiliation of India to Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) as the full member, to a certain extent could strengthen interaction of the three states and approach this interaction to the hypothetical model of a triangle. In this case SCO could turn into some kind of proving ground of geopolitical efforts of the three states. Simultaneously, membership of India in the SCO could serve as counterbalance to growing ambitions of China which are difficult to constrain for Russia. The SCO, with membership of India, would achieve greater stability and balance.

The most precisely expressed side of the “triangle” is the Russia-Chinese direction. The Russia-Indian cooperation having a solid base and good prospects, is also organically entering into considered configuration. As to the Chinese-Indian component, it is the weakest and considerably breaks the development of tripartite interaction. Also the trade — economic component of each pair the countries leaves much to be desired.

One of the weightiest advantages of the triple alliance Moscow-Delhi-Beijing is an opportunity for each of the sides to achieve specific goals. In particular, in relations with the US each angle of the triangle tops, owing to some support from two others. Each one can feel more confident in the international scene<sup>9</sup>.

At the present stage it is possible to confirm, that the Moscow-Delhi-Beijing axis has benefits, but to connect them in a uniform foreign policy is not easy. In the long term the most powerful factors of alliance strengthening is consideration of interests for the world not to be unipolar; joint struggle against terrorism and strengthening of trade and economic interaction testifies only the strengthening of mutual relations.

Thus, tripartite interaction can be useful to all of the participants.

### **Possible Consequences of the Tripartite Cooperation**

Tripartite relations could promote restraint of arms race in Asia by accepting cooperation within the framework of the United Nations and other international organizations, as well as prevention of potential conflicts in other regions of the world. Thus it is important to emphasize, that the American factor is not the determining factor during the process of rapprochement of three states. Nevertheless, despite the serious politico-economic potential of Russia, China and India, divergences in their approaches to the basic international problems and unregulated problems in mutual relations, mean that they cannot guarantee peace and stability in the Asian part of Eurasia without external help. However, if the cooperation of three states becomes the determining factor, other than economic forms of the American presence in the given region could become excessive. Institutionalization of the tripartite relations could play a positive role for the further improvement of the India-Chinese relations, so also in the Asia-Pacific region situations as a whole.

Despite a number of positive achievements, experts still are not inclined to consider the adjustment of relations between Beijing, Moscow and Delhi as the creation of a tripartite alliance<sup>10</sup>. The most discussed themes within the frame of the given triangle, is its influence potential on the regional policy of the US and, accordingly, strengthening of Russia's position in China and India. Both countries, as is known, are used by the US as mutual deterrents. Besides, at the global level China and India are competitors in a race for power resources, including Russian ones. However in this, direct cooperation of India and China with Russia is quite realistic, as both countries participate in financing the expansion of power stocks.

Experience of last decades has shown, that India and China, despite all disagreements existing between them, need each other. In the opinion of the majority of analysts, India and China should "refuse former rivalry for Asian influence and pass to mutually advantageous cooperation, especially in such priority directions, as development of information technologies and

struggle against international terrorism". In questions of global and regional security India and China forwarded to the United Nations the joint initiative directed at protection of the rights and interests of developing countries and establishment of the new, fair world order based on the "five principles of peaceful co-existence" by J.Nehru and Zhou Enlai<sup>11</sup>. The majority of the Chinese political scientists are sure of the further expansion and strengthening of India-Chinese relations which today are determined as "natural strategic partnership"<sup>12</sup>.

For the Central Asia remaining on the periphery of world development, it is important to appreciate the two globalizing giants of Asia — China and India — as new players on regional and the world markets, as strategically significant factors of economic and political life. Without the objective understanding of their importance, Central Asia will turn into a field of sharp military-political counteraction of the three forces — Russia, US and China, each of which aspires to establishment of the control on CA, acquiring of access to its power resources and routes of transportation. Thus Russia possesses a number of advantages, caused by historical development of the last two centuries.

Still Central Asia has a hard search ahead for the optimum variant of cooperation with Russia, US and China, for opposition to the common threats, development of democratic processes and creation of real market economy. More active inclusion of India in economic development and political processes of Central Asia could find understanding and support in these conditions from the regional states, which consider India as a natural ally on a number of world political issues. Indian involvement in CA processes could lower to some extent an acuteness of the competitive environment created by Russia, US and China.

However, the optimum variant for the states of the Central Asia could be cooperation with all leading centers of power of modern world politics, namely: Russia, India, China, the USA, EU, and Japan. The last three possess greater financial muscle and more modern technologies than the first three. Close to the optimum choice of development, as it seems, is being successfully realized only by Kazakhstan. The reliance of Central Asian states on a greater circle of partners could be more effective for their economic and political development, positive solution of issues on regional and global levels, as terrorism, proliferation of WMD and others. Such a choice would allow this group of the small and medium-sized countries, using terminology of well-known Russian theorist of the international



relations A. Bogaturov to act in a role of "the collective leader" and to escape the lot of "the background states".

The future of the region in many respects will depend on coordinated politics of CA states, demanding institutional registrations, aimed at peace maintenance and good neighborhood with Russia, US, India, and China. Such form of cooperation could be the union of CA states which idea has been advanced by the President of Kazakhstan, N. Nazarbaev in 2005.

At the given stage it is important to direct efforts at elimination of the barriers in the way of closer cooperation, to promote stabilization of India-Chinese relations, to settle the India-Pakistan relations, to develop cooperation in all directions, making use of the experience of mutual relations and the experience which has been turned out within the limits of functioning of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Experience of the last years has shown that tripartite interaction can be useful to all its participants.

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup>At over 3.7 million square miles (over 9.1 million kml), the PRC is the third largest country by area. It is also the world's most populous nation, with over 1.3 billion people. Total area of India is 1,269,346 sq mi. (3 287 590 kml). India is the second-most populous country in the world with an estimated 1.1 billion people in 2006.

<sup>2</sup>Ефремова К. Китай и Индия в XXI веке: прогнозы индийских политологов, // Проблемы Дальнего Востока, № 4, 2001, с.36-49

<sup>3</sup>Baru S. *The Economic Dimension of India's Foreign Policy* // World Affairs. New Delhi, Apr.-Jun. 1998. Vol. 2. № 2. pp. 89-93; 97-101

<sup>4</sup>Широков Г.К., Лунев С.И. Россия, Китай и Индия в современных глобальных процессах. Москва: МОНФ, Серия «Научные доклады», N 69, 1998

<sup>5</sup>В. Я. Стратегический треугольник Россия-Китай-Индия: реальность конфигурации, Китай в мировой политике, М., МГИМО (Университет), 2001, с.352-392

<sup>6</sup>Акимов А. В., Лунев С. И., Салицкий А. И. Китай, Индия, Россия – состояние и перспективы сотрудничества. // Восток № 4, 2001

<sup>7</sup>Ефремова К. стратегический треугольник «Россия-Индия-Китай» в концепции «нового мирового порядка». <http://www.rami.ru/vestnik/01/report/>

<sup>8</sup>Яковлев А. Г. Треугольнику Россия-Китай-Индия нужна стратегия дальних рубежей. // Проблемы Дальнего Востока, № 5, 2002, с.45-62

<sup>9</sup>Лукашевская М. М. Автореф. Канд.диссерт. «Взаимодействие России, Индии и Китая в системе современных международных отношений». 21.10.2003



<sup>10</sup>Белокреницкий В. Я. Стратегический треугольник Россия-Китай-Индия: реальность конфигурации, Китай в мировой политике, М., МГИМО (Университет), 2001, с.352-392

<sup>11</sup>Chakravartty S., "President of India in China: A Productive Visit", *Mainstream*. 38(25), June 10, 2000, p.4-6.

<sup>12</sup>Well-known Chinese indologist Van Hunvay, the professor of the Beijing Institute of Asian-Pacific studies adheres to such opinion. Quotation from: Chakravartty S., "President of India in China: A Productive Visit", *Mainstream*, Vol. 38(25), June 10, 2000, p.5.

# 22

## *Regional Security Situation in Middle East*

*Talat Masood*

If there is any part of the world where the challenge to peace and stability is the greatest one would unhesitatingly point to the Middle East. It is a cauldron where fires are raging all around, whether it is Iraq, Palestine or Lebanon, with many countries and several entities pouring fuel to keep the flames alive. Clearly, it is the epicenter of world's attention for several important reasons. The region is a vital source of energy with over 40 per cent of the oil resources and gas reserves held in Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, UAE, Qatar and Kuwait. It is politically one of the most undemocratic regions and though endowed with rich mineral and energy resources is seriously lagging behind in human resource development. Some of the Middle Eastern countries suffer from major weakness, lack of necessary ability to govern and provide the people basic services of health, education and infrastructure. Most countries in the region have also a serious

legitimacy problem as they are governed by military dictators, kings or autocratic regimes. For this reason there is minimum adherence to universal human rights. The region also needs to engage in genuine reforms so that they reduce their internal tensions and can combat radicalization.

As the region enjoys importance for geo-strategic and geo-economic reasons, it also exposes itself to intense rivalry of major world powers. Middle East with the exception of Israel is also predominantly Muslim, which again is another central reason for world's attention. Although there are many serious security problems facing the region I will primarily confine myself to Iraq and Iran.

It was therefore unfortunate that United States despite strong and unequivocal advice and warnings from all quarters — friends and foes alike — decided in its own wisdom to launch an attack on Iraq, based on false, or at least unsubstantiated charges that Saddam's regime was in possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). Although, the common perception among most people was that it was a cover to remove Saddam and install a western friendly regime that would protect the interests of the West and will ensure a reliable source of oil to the Western world and especially US. The new Iraq would also be friendly to Israel and pose no threat to it. United States won the battle of Iraq easily and was able to dispose off the regime but is losing the war. Due to several omissions and errors, starting from lack of any thought out plan for the post invasion period, especially regarding the security US has plunged Iraq into a state of anarchy. From any standards Iraq is now in a state of civil war and could well break-up on sectarian and ethnic lines in three or four entities. United States despite being the lone super power along with Britain — its closest accomplice in this adventure — is standing like a powerless giant, unable to control events.

Mr. Hans Blix has aptly remarked that Iraq is spinning out of control and United States faces the worst strategic dilemma as there are no easy options for it any more. There is wide spread frustration and mounting pressure from many quarters — especially US Congress to set a timetable for withdrawal of troops. If it withdraws forces from Iraq in haste it plunges the country in a deeper civil war that may tragically end in its break-up, which has serious ramifications for the region and may invite neighboring countries — Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Iran — to intervene to protect their interests. On the other hand, if United States stays on, it exacerbates violence and turmoil. Unfortunately, when a lone super power makes a mistake or a blunder, the negative foot print is global and our part of the world is affected most. What then should be the cutting point before the Iraqis take the reigns of destiny in their own hands?

The answer perhaps lies in a phased withdrawal of US and other foreign troops. This should be accompanied by passing laws on equitable sharing of oil and other resources between various regions and reversing the ban on the Baath party, so that the Sunnis feel more confident. Sunnis, nonetheless, need to recognize that they have to adjust to the reality of being a minority in a democratic dispensation. Similarly the Shias will have to show greater understanding and sensitivity to Sunnis concerns. Withdrawal of foreign troops will also give greater credibility to Mr. Maliki's government or its successor as Iraqis want to get back their lost freedom and sovereignty as a nation.

Despite the fact that terrorism and insurgency are decidedly primed by different motivations United States and major powers deliberately blurred the two for reasons of political and military expediency. Although, their fears that insurgents could develop links with terrorist entities is partly true, nonetheless, generalizing them as a single phenomenon is neither analytically correct or a wise policy. By treating the resistance in Iraq against foreign occupation as terrorism, and branding Hamas and Hezbollah as terrorist organizations the US has committed a strategic error. It has lost focus on combating terrorism and its "New Middle East" policy is being perceived by the Muslims as a mere cover to advance its imperialistic designs and Israeli aggression. For US and other Western countries to expect that Muslim societies and states would be able to enforce a policy of zero tolerance against violence while they continue to flout international norms and commit acts of aggression would be highly unrealistic.

Selective application of policies and excessive use of the military instrument has blunted US influence and marginalized the moderates within the Muslim countries. It has given rise to growing anti-American sentiment and ongoing violence in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine and Lebanon has further hardened these attitudes.

### **US- Iran Nuclear Standoff**

The United States-Iran current standoff is creating serious tension in the region and the world stands on the brink of a chasm as long as the positions of Iran and the US remain that wide apart. On a recent visit to Tehran to attend a conference on nuclear and security issues arranged in collaboration with Institute of Strategic Research Iran and Pugwash — a prestigious international NGO — the impression one got after listening to the Iranian top leadership was that they are determined to pursue the civilian nuclear program. For them it is a matter of exercising their rights



under Article 4 of the Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) and accordingly they are not violating any international law. Pursuit of nuclear technology is also a question of national pride and techno-nationalism for the Iranians. In Iran there is a broad consensus across the political and social spectrum over the nuclear policy even if there are differences in top leadership over how to handle it at the operational level. Paradoxically, the clergy is in favor of a softer tone as compared to President Ahmadinejad's aggressive rhetoric. There is a realization among certain quarters that Islamic militancy and threatening language, especially against Israel, makes the nuclear issue more explosive for the West. Iranian support to Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad are issues on which the positions of Washington and Tehran remain wide apart. Equally problematic are President Bush's characterization of Iran as the axis of evil, the US administrations declared policy of regime change and American threats of military strikes generate insecurities in Iran and are a serious impediment to confidence building.

International Atomic Energy Agency's (IAEA's) pointed reference to technical breeches, which is the current basis of mistrust between the international community and Iran, are only mentioned by the Iranian leadership in passing during public discourse. From their perspective these could be explained away, and in any case Tehran is not prepared to accept the logic that violating safeguards implies that you lose your entitled obligations. It is, however, important to recall that it is only after the programme was exposed that Iran decided to be cooperative and transparent with the IAEA. United States and the Western countries are blamed for their discriminatory attitude and India and Israel are rightly sighted as US favorites where different set of rules apply. Indeed, Israel's nuclear capability is a major cause of instability in the Middle East that is conveniently ignored by the US and the West, while vigorously opposing their acquisition by Iran. The Iranians are very conscious that they are surrounded by nuclear powers, with India and Pakistan to the East, Russia to the North, Israel in the West and US — the strongest nuclear and military power — as their neighbor in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Iran is developing an elaborate nuclear infrastructure that covers the entire fuel cycle from mining of Uranium to its milling, conversion and enrichment. It also maintains that cascading of enrichment facilities will continue and they already claim to have several bays of centrifuges. In addition a Plutonium Separation Unit, Research Reactor and Heavy Water Production Plant is also being developed in parallel. A uranium conversion facility has been established at Esfahan where milled Uranium (yellow

cake) is converted to uranium hexafluoride gas that is then fed to centrifuges for enrichment.

### Concerns of the West

Main concern of the West is about the enrichment facilities being created by Iran and not as much about the Bushehr light water reactor. Because the latter is under safeguards and the Russians are at least five years behind completion schedule and they will handle the spent fuel. Development of heavy water unit which is used in weapon grade plutonium processing and long range missiles that are primarily meant as carriers of nuclear warheads has given rise to Western apprehensions that there is a gap between the declaratory and operational policy of Iran and that it is poised at developing a break out capability for weapons production. The Supreme leader's Fatwa declaring nuclear weapons as un-Islamic is not taken seriously by the West. There is also a fear if Iran is allowed to run the enrichment facility it will eventually learn how to hide emissions and accidents and then develop covert facilities. On the other hand Mr. Larijani the Supreme National Security Council Secretary General and other leaders have stated that Iran was ready to accept additional safeguards, introduce greater transparency and fully cooperate with the IAEA to allay concerns of the international community. Iranian government has stated that it is prepared to get the legislation regarding Additional Safeguards passed once there is an agreement with the IAEA. Teheran feels that US is not looking for a solution but is looking for an excuse for denying its justifiable right to pursue peaceful nuclear energy program and is after regime change. They also accuse US of seeking to establish a nuclear Oil Producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC) in the distant future by monopolizing the technology. The zero option by the US and EU is a non-starter with Iran and only serious and sustained negotiations could break the deadlock. While maintaining its NPT rights Iran should calibrate its production, define the practical use and allow full monitoring. The other proposal floated by Russia for an international fuel bank or consortium for enrichment and fuel production in which Iran could be partner is an attractive alternative. Iran of course insists that it is not willing to forego its inherent right to develop an autonomous civilian nuclear energy capability. It is also taking advantage of the fact that world powers seem far away from developing a consensus as the interests of China and Russia on many issues are at variance with the US and European countries and invoking harsh sanctions by United Nations Security Council (UNSC) may not be that easy. As big powers (P-5) pursue different objectives in Iran it has helped Tehran

to play out these differences at the IAEA and the Security Council. In essence the standoff between US and Iran is more political rather than technical and therefore begs a political solution.

### **Concluding Remarks**

The technical problems can be resolved more easily once the political climate improves. The two countries need to build trust through dialogue and cooling off of rhetoric. Iran needs to avoid confrontation and address more pressing problems of growing unemployment and development. Even the Arab Muslim states like Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan and the Gulf Emirates will not co-exist with a nuclear Iran, needless to mention of United States and Israel. Similarly, United States would be well advised not to treat Iran as an Iraqi venture. There are no easy military options for US. Air operations against Iran could involve hitting several targets in populated areas with heavy civilian casualties that will further inflame the Muslim world. A military strike on Iran would drive up oil prices to above 100 dollars a barrel as predicted by eminent international energy analysts. This could lead to global recession and unleash anti-American sentiment to new heights. If Iran's nuclear installations are struck there is every possibility of Iran exercising other options including asymmetrical warfare to widen the conflict? The situation in Iraq will totally spin out of control if Iran was to support the Iraqi insurgency and radical elements will gain ascendancy world wide. It is therefore in the interest of world peace that the United States should join the Europeans at the table and talk directly to the Iranians. Through direct negotiations it is possible an Iran specific solution could be found wherein it is ensured that there is no diversion of civil nuclear program resources for weapons manufacture, yet Iran's nuclear energy needs are fulfilled and its genuine security concerns are met.

# 23

## *The Sudanese Experience in Peace Making*

*Canon Clement Janda*

*P*ope Paul VI once said, 'The other word for peace is development.' This is to indicate the linkage between the two words. They are so inseparable, reminding us of the old debate of which came first, the "chicken or the egg." Which one should come first, peace or development? Certainly we might never reach a logical conclusion. Both represent two sides of the same coin.

It has become very evident in many places that the absence of either of the two negates conditions for the other. Where there is no peace, there is no development; and where there is no development there is no peace. The Sudan provides a perfect example.

The Sudan has been at war with itself for the most part of its 50 years of independence. In the heart of this war or lack of peace is lack of



development for the most parts of the country. Development has been concentrated in the centre — Greater Khartoum and Wad Medani. The rest of the country, the vast majority in fact, was marginalized. Hence, Sudanese people from the South, East, West, and far North had not regarded themselves as part of the developing Sudan. Rather, they regarded themselves as marginalized and exploited, who serviced the greed of the center.

Resources from the vast marginalized areas had all along been shipped or siphoned off for the development of the centre. Gum Arabic from the West, gold from the Red Sea areas of the East, oil and timber from the South, as well as human labour from all over the vast majority, were all pooled and used for the development of Greater Khartoum, to the utter neglect of the areas from which all these resources were taken!

Attempts to draw attention to the unequal development priorities were always met with naked brute force. Of the 50 years of Sudanese independence, over 35 years were and are years of military rule for the country. Moreover, all the leadership of the country, whether military or civilian, had been confined to the same clique from Greater Khartoum area.

Since 18<sup>th</sup> August 1955 when the first war started in the South, wars have also raged in the Nuba Mountains, Southern Blue Nile, Darfur in the West and with the Beja in the East. The Central government built one of the largest armies in Africa with sophisticated weapons from all over the world in order to pacify its own citizens. I know of no case of Sudan having waged war with its neighbours, but only with itself! The current situation in Darfur, (inspite of an African Union sponsored agreement in Abuja, Nigeria), where the government army and militia continue battling insurgents is a case in point. The international community through the UN (Security Council Resolution 1706) is trying to rescue the people of Darfur from their own government. The government of the Sudan is crying foul and calling the attempted entry of United Nations forces to Sudan an invasion and new colonization!

With such a policy that aims at marginalizing and even exterminating its own citizens, how could the Sudan possibly develop? Certainly peace is a pre-condition for development, where all citizens discover spaces for themselves to improve their way of life. That is what development means to me.

Indeed, as a result of the negative effect of the long war in the Sudan, especially in the South, the ruling junta in Khartoum from 1989 saw reason enough to search for peace through negotiation with those who have

taken up arms in order to change the power balance of the country. Negotiations were held between the government of the National Congress Party (NCP), and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) in Naivasha, Kenya, in January 2005. Other negotiations were later held between the government of national unity and the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM) in Abuja, Nigeria, in May 2006; and, the third peace process was concluded recently between the government of national unity and the Eastern Front in Asmara, Eritrea, in October 2006.

In all these peace processes there has been a consistent effort to address three main issues: power sharing, wealth sharing and security arrangement.

On the issue of power sharing efforts have been made to address the imbalance caused by the centering of power in greater Khartoum for so long. Attempts were made to reduce the concentration of power in Khartoum, and share it with the periphery. The rationale is that one needs political power to guarantee distribution of wealth and ensure equal control of resources... Since for such a long period Greater Khartoum controlled everything from power, wealth and security, any challenge to this axis must mean a total restructuring of power in Khartoum so that the whole country can share in the distribution of the wealth, in order that the periphery gets something, though not exactly on an equal basis. The three agreements signed in Kenya, Nigeria and Eritrea addressed this imbalance, and achieved some limited positive results. For the first time in the history of the Sudan the three areas, South, West and East will see many of their citizens participate in decision making in the centre.

Central to the notions of wealth sharing is the use of percentages to distribute wealth that comes from any particular region. Equally important is the use of federal distribution mechanism that has been successfully employed in India and other federal systems like Nigeria. If used properly the FFAMC should be able to address development issues throughout the huge federal Sudan. For this system looks at certain agreed conditions, including population, underdevelopment and long effects of war to allocate funds to a region justly.

Once wealth can be distributed across the whole country, hopefully equitably, there is need to protect the process so that it is not tempered with by those who have been so used to exercise of power. So security arrangements have been made to safeguard the process. In this regard, there has been a marked decentralization of the security apparatus. For example, in the case of the Naivasha Agreement between the NCP led

government and SPLM, the Sudan has ended up with three armies: the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) on one hand, the former rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) on the other, and a third army, the Joint Integrated Units (JIUs) made up of equal numbers contributed by SAF and SPLA.

This security arrangement is very unique. It is hardly shared anywhere, at least I am not personally aware of similar arrangement anywhere. It is the will of the Sudanese people to solve a problem that has lasted for so long! This arrangement should end after the six year interim period, at which time a referendum should have been conducted in the Southern Sudan, where citizens have two choices: unity or separation of the whole country. If they vote for unity, both SAF and SPLA will dissolve into the JIUs to form a new army for the Sudan. If, however, the Southerners opt for separation, the JIUs will dissolve and both SAF and SPLA will become the armies of the new nations: SAF for Northern Sudan and SPLA for Southern Sudan.

The situation in Darfur and Eastern Sudan might develop differently, although both areas have addressed the same issues of power sharing, wealth sharing, and have adopted some measure of security arrangement different from the Southern Sudan model. From both places sizeable numbers of former fighters have been taken into the SAF and other security organs.

Might all these be futile exercises in peace making without the real will to implement these agreements? Therein lies the danger for the development of the Sudan.

Provided that the protocols on power sharing, wealth sharing and security arrangement get respected, the future of the Sudan promises much. We have all been warned to watch out for "the devil in the details of implementation" of the various agreements. If the National Congress Party, being the dominant partner in the government of national unity, does not treat these processes and agreements as ways or means to simply stop war, but rather move vigorously to implement them, therein lies the future development of the Sudan. The promised peace dividend will mean a great deal for the Sudanese people. If, however, the NCP wants to pretend and believe that ending the war is all it was prepared to do, and therefore do nothing to realize the goals of peace making, then development will become a mirage!

Many like former Vice President of the republic of the Sudan Mawlana Abel Alier have already pointed to Sudan's "too many agreements dishonored". Hopefully this should be taken as a caution, that



people are aware of the tricks of the past. At the signing of the CPA in Nairobi on 9<sup>th</sup> January 2005, Chairman of SPLM, Dr. John Garang de Mabior said, 'The biggest challenge will be implementation of the peace agreement but we, both the SPLM and the National Congress Party, are committed to the implementation of this agreement. There are both external and internal guarantees, organic and external guarantees that will ensure the implementation of this agreement.' Elsewhere in the same speech Dr. Garang said, 'We must ensure that it is cheaper to implement than not to. The cost of non-implementation must be made more expensive.' If this warning is heeded to, we should see real development taking place in the Sudan.

We note that an Indian company is participating in the exploitation of the Sudanese oil, together with the Malaysians and the Chinese. This is a positive step. We want to see greater involvement of India in the development of the Sudan.

During the days of the war we used to hear that the Sudanese government was spending not less than two million dollars a day to sustain the war. That must have been a great burden on the national economy. Now that we are at peace we should be able to save the huge sums of money that we used to waste on war and self-destruction, and utilize the money in developing the country. The destruction that many decades of war had brought to the country is unimaginable. In many parts, especially in the south, what used to be roads connecting towns and villages disappeared, bridges were destroyed and amenities like hospitals and health centres, schools, and worship places were all lost. In many places communities that have returned to their former homes after the war, (and there are still millions in refugee and displaced camps), must start life from zero. Thus to start developing such places massive funds must be infused in the economy.

In conclusion one must lament the many chances Sudan had lost just because of internal wars. It was the first African country to get independence from Britain in 1956. Today it has some of the most backward or underdeveloped parts in Africa. Dr. John said on the day of the signing of the CPA, that the whole Southern Sudan had never seen tarmac roads since the days of Adam and Eve! That is tragic. The Sudan must wake up from the culture of war and embrace the culture of peace. Then, and only then, will the future be bright for the Sudanese people.



# 24

## *Issues of Peace and Development: The Central Asia Perspective*

*Dinora Azimova*

One of the most acute problems of the present-day international politics in the sense of its immediate influence on forming geopolitics and the balance of forces in the world are the Middle East-US and Sino-US relations.

The geographic proximity of Russia and Republics of Central Asia, the scope of Chinese, Indian and Central Asian territory and the rich by energy resources of Middle East have always attracted attention of leading world powers.

Today the historic, religious-cultural and geographic closeness of China from one side and Middle East from another to the Central Asian states — including Uzbekistan — might become destabilizing or, on the contrary, constructive potential for regional security and geo-economic possibilities. These may, in one or other degree, influence the perspectives of regional development and define the correlation of political forces in it.

### Three emerging powers in Eurasia:

At present three major powers — Dragon (China), Tiger (India) and Bear (Russia) — we may call it a Triangle, are emerging in Eurasia. And what might be the position of Central Asia within the Triangle — is a matter of concern to all of us. The factors, which are creating the negative impact on Central Asian security, are as follows:

- Instability in Afghanistan and Iraq;
- Growing conflict between Shia and Sunni community in close proximity to Central Asia with threat to be transformed to a broad macro-regional conflict (especially in view of Saddam Hussein court final decision);
- Crisis around the nuclear program of Iran;
- Western strategy of interference into Central Asia under the slogan of "Democratic transformations;
- Prolongation of "Sanctions" policy;
- Difficulties of macro-regional economic integration through new (vertical) transport and pipe-line roots.

Due to these factors, attempts to create better dialog and cooperation with Asian countries experienced now critical moment. Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan after 15 years of Independence once again returned to the domination of Russian vector in their external policy. After Andijon, Uzbekistan also signed agreement of Strategic Partnership with Russia. Turkmenistan, at the first glance, is following the proclaimed policy of Neutrality, but analysis of the latest agreement witnessed that this country is also shifting towards Russian borders.

This dynamics brings to alteration of intra-regional and inter-regional processes within SOC and EURASEC (Euroasian Economic Community is the international economic organization institutionalized in October 6, 2005, at the Summit of the "Central Asian Cooperation Organization" in Almaty bringing together Russia, Byelorussia and four Central Asian states). This process brings to merger of OCAC (Organization for Central Asia Cooperation) into EuroAsian EC with identical tasks and goals. Such transformations mean institutionalization of Eurasian regionalism.

This new regionalism needs to be more understandable, and it should be open and ready to include other states, especially those who share common values and history. Dictatorial character of US policy in the Middle

East and Central Asia brings to its marginalization on the territory of Eurasia and a policy shift from Central Asia states. According to Hugo Chavez, idea of Pax Americana (Woodrow Wilson) along with US Democratic imperative creates "explosive mixture", and may turn US from the world leadership to a regional leadership. For coming five - seven years the USA will not be welcomed as the world leader and only new flexible and balanced future policy may be helpful in gaining this position back. This drive is still ongoing and our states envisage creation of more close ties with our historical partners such as India, China and Iran.

Development of the present Sino-Uzbek-Russian partnership and the totality of problems, related to the contemporary political development are sharpening the significance of the lessons of the past similar partnerships in the region, and the degree of its application. In connection with the above mentioned, efforts should be undertaken to define briefly the main lessons and factors of the influence of the Triangle relations on the development of the Central Asian republics.

Similar to Russia, India and China's Governments have secular orientation, in contract with countries of Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, Iran. Growing ability of Chinese and Indian economy at present to provide high quality technology and big investments predetermined the cooperation of the CA republics with both. India, Russia and China have sufficient resources to jointly protect the CA republics from such threats to their regional security as drug trafficking, organized criminality and terrorism from the territory of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Moreover, the Pakistan-Afghan, Iranian-Afghan and Iranian-Pakistan confrontations in the past have been of destructive character for the entire region.

Uzbekistan has no common borders with any of those countries, contrasting Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. However, by virtue of its geographic location and demographic factors, Uzbekistan was considered by triangle leadership as the important player in achieving a regional consensus. Such an approach alongside the whole complexity of the relations was directed at the exclusion of any confrontation in the bilateral relations, and constant attempts to find common interests in foreign policy.

Both Triangle and Central Asia are in transition from the Cold War bipolar structure to a multipolar one. All of them experienced socialism with different faces, great influence of Moscow on their politics and economy; they have common water/ecology problems, common threat of terrorism and extremism. States remain to be primary players in politics, however, regional cooperation and even Unions are vitally important to

obtain better position on the global scale. For Asia countries that is still a slogan, which need to be proved.

The EU gains special importance as it is becoming competitive, economically and politically strong with introduction of new currency, elimination of tariffs, creation of common borders, system of roads and so on. Asia will gain even more after such a decision and similar measures are undertaken. If you will check system of roads created in 20 century, and even Great Silk road, it is easy to note that all of them were organized to connect East and West. Still there is no good transport connection through Asia, such a system when created through Asia and for Asia will be good, because to a great extent Asian continent is self-sufficient and may rely on its own resources and own markets.

Political and economic development of Central Asia (last fifteen years)

The collapse of the USSR and formation of new independent states opened a new stage of development for former Soviet Central Asian Republics. Development of Central Asian post-soviet republics might not be properly assessed outside the global context. In the last decade of the current century, countries and their leaders have clearly shown their aspiration to creation of various unions and organizations. It is especially noticeable in Europe and in Asian-Pacific region. The integration of fifteen European states, cooperation of South-Eastern countries in the framework of ASEAN, SOC and other similar facts of joint economic cooperation strengthened the world development tendency from regionalism towards globalism.

Development of post-Soviet Republics also goes in the mainstream of the world tendencies. If the regional integration of many countries has been almost completed at present and somewhat stabilized, new agenda requests a global integration through regionalism, and CA countries have to accomplish their integration both on the regional and on the global level simultaneously. Though each of the newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union face challenges unique to their own history, all are still hostages of a common Soviet legacy.

The post-soviet Central Asian region, including republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, deserve special attention as an area with huge resources for development. It should be taken into account that the region may become explosive area in Eurasia.



In order to enter the world community successfully, to prevent regional destabilization such concepts as concepts of nation building, sovereignty, interdependence and the role of the international community must be reviewed. Hence, a thorough socio-political analysis of each given country is needed to be more exact in forecasting and understanding societies. Regional integration may be successful only in conditions of political stability. It provides more possibilities for economic progress and strengthening sovereignty.

In which way and to what extent can stability be achieved in Central Asia? That is the question.



**SECTION VI**  
*Economic Dimensions of  
Peace and Development*





# 25

## *Economic Dimensions of Peace and Development in an Interdependent World: India's Perspective*

G.K. Chadha

I am called upon to share my thoughts on the topic of peace and development. Looking at the galaxy of participants from many countries, and many disciplines, I thought it would be advisable if I share with you a very general perspective from India's point of view. You are the best persons to develop ideas and give perspective on this issue from your country's point of view. How do I look at the whole issue from India's perspective depends, inter alia, on the pace and pattern of India's growth profile in recent years, the depth of India's involvement in global economic regime, and the leadership role that India cuts out to play in South Asia, on the one hand, and the global economy, on the other.

Let me begin by borrowing a very important quote from one of the distinguished diplomats from the USA, who happened to work as USA

ambassador to India in the early 1980s. It was Kenneth Galbraith. In his well-known book *The Affluent Society*, the philosophical observation that 'you do not become aware of your own poverty till you have looked at the affluence of your neighbour', carries a strong message about the relationship between poverty and affluence; they stare at each other. I think, the idea of development and peace sailing harmoniously together critically depends at what kind of economic development do we have, and how the gains of development are being shared among neighbours, regions and nations. In plain terms, two neighbors are expected to be at peace if their mutual economic differences are not apparently intolerable. Economic differences are an inescapable outcome of man's struggle for 'acquiring more' and such differences are absorbable if these arise within the realm of respective earning capabilities of human beings. However, if the differences are born out of extra economic considerations, unfair economic environment in which the two neighbors are operating, unequal sharing of the gains of international trade, and development, the neighbouring countries will never live happily together.

As a development economist, and from India's perspective, I am immediately driven to no fewer than four concepts of neighborhood and peaceful co-existence, one internal and three external. Let us begin with the internal concept. There are problems within India. The pace and pattern of economic growth, employment, earning and well-being of masses have been taking place disparately among its 35 federating states and union territories. As such, inter-regional disparities have been a perpetual source of concern to the policy makers. Thanks to its recent climb to a high growth trajectory, expanding involvement in world trade, especially in specific categories of services and manufacturing, the outside world takes us as a booming, and shining India. Undoubtedly, there is one India which conforms to that kind of perception. It is growing, it is shining. But then, there is a depressed and despairing India as well. We have to make note of that. So there is problem within India. If one state is booming and its neighbour is despairing, Galbraith will come in; in fact uneasiness may be incessantly building up between the two.

In what shape the uneasiness comes out is difficult to say. Nevertheless, in whatever form it does, the consequences are not very happy, for the states themselves, and much more grievously, for the nation as a whole. How will it get reflected within the precincts of democratic functioning of our society? That itself will throw off many different questions and problems. It is in this context that, in recent years, there is a

serious talk about internal regional disparity in India. There is tremendous amount of rising economic aspirations from different regions. There are disputes, there are claims; there are competitions, there are complementarities. In spite of the competitive policies and state-support regimes, the inter-regional disparities have unfortunately lingered on for too long. In relative terms, the depressed parts of India have remained depressed while the progressive ones have surged ahead, most ostensibly in terms of economic growth, and structural transformation of their economies.

Admittedly, all regions have registered economic progress, and have certainly come out of their beleaguered past, in varying form and content, but the uneven pace, and the structural content of their growth, have made the issue of inter-regional disparities a festering wound in the flesh of the nation. The fear of unrest, conflicts, disputes and democratic anarchy continue to hang over the nation's head like the Damocles sword. It is not a happy commentary on India's democratic polity that, as late as 2004-05, around 69.0 per cent of India's rural poor lived in five states alone, namely, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, and Maharashtra; 30.0 per cent or more of their rural population was still in poverty, even by India's own modest norms, much milder than the international yardstick of per capita income of one dollar a day (Chadha, 2007:4). At the other end of the poverty spectrum stand six states, namely Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu-Kashmir, Kerala and Punjab which have succeeded in substantially reducing the proportion of their rural poor to low levels, from 26.0 per cent in 1983 to 5.0 per cent in 2004-05 in Jammu-Kashmir, from 39.0 per cent to 12.0 per cent in Kerala, from 26.53 per cent to 10.85 per cent in Andhra Pradesh, and so on. In 2004-05, only about 6.0 per cent of India's rural poor lived in these six low-poverty states. In the middle stand the remaining six states, namely Assam, Gujarat, Karnataka, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal where the proportion of the rural poor varied between 15.0 to 30.0 per cent in 2004-05. Nearly one-fourth of India's rural poor lived in these six medium-poverty states. If incidence of rural poverty is a potent measure of dividing rural India into progressive and backward regions, there are clearly three Indias instead of one. The social strife is built into the very process of growth; peace is more illusory than real. I will stop here as far as the within-India disparities are concerned.

Let me now take you to India in the South Asian context. All of us know that India is a big brother in South Asia. Look at India from any point of view, whether it is size of the population, size of the economy, the

structure of the economy, the pattern of the growth of economy, and relative importance in the world context. India certainly stands out as the most dominating and formidable economic player of the region. Therefore, the scope for any of the South Asian country to look at India with a sense of questioning is quite natural. It also devolves on India, some kind of additional responsibility. If you want to be called a 'Big Brother', then you have bigger responsibility to share.

Thirdly, India has to be seen in the broader Asian context. As an economic player of Asia, India has to contend with a number of more formidable international economic players; immediately, one thinks of India versus China, India versus Japan, India versus Republic of Korea, India versus Russia and a number of other countries. India in recent years, has tried to take many initiatives to build better understanding, friendly relationship, including fostering very strong trade relations with a number of countries in the region. Perhaps, today's world economic landscape is remarkably different from what it is used to be 25-30 years back, and our understanding that development and well-being of individual societies are that much easier to realize if peace prevails around, or shared gains of development are an inescapable pre-condition for peace in the region, is clearer than ever before. In fact, the recent geo-political and economic initiatives launched by Government by India, most ostensibly, Dr. Manmohan Singh's "Look East Policy", are in fact a very concrete step in that direction. We very clearly understand that if countries within the Asian region strengthen their mutual trade relations, it can make tremendous difference to the whole pattern of the world trade and correspondingly the prospects for peace, prosperity and sustained development, will get a boost. We have been taking some initiatives, albeit tentative and preliminary, about Asian integration. We have also been dreaming of a common Asian market. We have set our eye, perhaps over-enthusiastically, on a common Asian currency, somewhat on the pattern of the EU. We have even taken concrete steps for entering into a number of trade agreements with countries in our neighborhood. For example, we signed a free trade agreement with Sri Lanka, we have a free trade agreement, perhaps a comprehensive trade agreement, with Singapore and with Thailand. Our initiatives are expanding, piously venturing to bind Bangladesh, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and India into a cooperative economic network. We are also trying to make our presence felt in a more respectable way in ASEAN group of countries although our earlier experience of being a very important member of the SAARC region, tells that while there are certain do's, there are many don'ts also.



Undeterred by minor setbacks and geo-political squabbles, we are convinced that there is pretty much more to be done for further strengthening of these regional cooperation initiatives, whether on country to country basis or among a group of countries in this region. As a student of economics, I can easily see that from whatever economic perspective you look at, India has a very responsible role to play and tremendous challenges to face in fostering better relationships. So, we are brimming with dreams, putting across many economic initiatives, and opening up new and challenging routes to development under peaceful coexistence in the Asian region. Perhaps, history will pat us for what we are doing; one step toward peace and development on our part shall bring forth many from others.

Lastly, India is to be seen in the global context and this immediately takes me to a very important, though a vexatious terrain of economic policy and geo-politics. Kipling said at one point of time, 'the east is east, and the west is west, the twain shall never meet'. The contemporary reality is that there is no east and there is no west. The whole world is already well integrated. Practically it is like a village now. India or any country of the world is well integrated into the whole world and the degree of interdependency, mutual exchange, the possibility for different countries to give to and take from one another is also tremendous. So, without any doubt, the world has already become a village. It throws up both challenges as well as prospects for ushering in peaceful co-existence. Everybody knows it very well that if some trouble takes place in a country, the neighbouring country cannot have a smooth sailing in its own day-to-day economic chores as also in its trade relationships with other countries. It goes without saying that it has wider, varying and multiple effects in this whole world. The rippling effect does not end at one point, it goes all over again.

For the information of some of you, in the recent two decades or so, the direction of India's foreign trade has changed in many different ways. Although, USA is still the most dominating partner of our country, but in recent years, China has emerged as a very strong partner. We are still having a major share with the European Union and yet we have started trading as far away as Latin America. And in Latin America, even a small country like Chile is becoming one of our major trade partners. We have also started our trade with many countries in Africa. You can easily see that India is not losing any opportunity of striking friendly trade and other relationships with any country or blocks of countries. Everybody knows what role India has been playing in the WTO negotiations at the international level, both in- and outside formal negotiating fora. We are a member of so many regional

groups; I don't have to refer to all of them. So, we have been trying to put in all possible efforts to bring the whole of the developing world together, whether under the aegis of G-19, G-22 or G-7 or lately G-4 ( India, Brazil, China and South Africa). Currently, there is a talk of having a trilateral economic block of India, China and Russia. So, there is so much thinking and so many initiatives, all aiming to promote development under peaceful conditions.

Thanks to its highly creditable growth record in the past two decades or so, India's economic position must also be seen in terms of the total landscape of the world. As I said before, the total landscape has changed tremendously in recent years. Thanks to the fact that country after country has tried to open up its economy, India too has become a reckonable part of world's economic system. How are we looking ahead at ourselves in relation to the world economy? It is from this perspective that I will derive one or two very crucial implications having a bearing on international economic relations and which may also have implication towards whether peace is latent or whether something opposite to that is latent in the emerging pattern of development. It bears some reiteration that, in recent years, India has done remarkably well in the matter of its economic growth. One can marshal hundreds of indicators to show that India has done remarkably well in this area, and in that sector of its economy. Some areas have grown very strong; they have now world class players. In fact, in certain areas, we are the most dominant players in the whole world. The list of our outstanding accomplishments, in domestic production and trade, can go on. We don't have time to dwell on all those accomplishments.

But then, there are projections about our future performance, some of which need to be taken rather seriously. For example, there are forecasting models by the Brookings Institute, and Goldman Satche, as also a number of forecasting models inside our own economy which clearly show that the world is no more Unipolar. The things have already started moving out of the hands of the USA. It is now almost a Bipolar world. China and USA are the two living realities which are seeing each other face to face in terms of economic performance. In fact, a question which is now commonly raised and which has very serious implications in terms of USA's own economic standing, is whether USA is still the control room for the world economy. Well, people may have their difference of opinion in answering this question.

Be that as it may, the recent indicators clearly show that the USA is no more the exclusive hub center of economic activity; it is no more true that

if there is a small ripple in USA's economy, the whole world will start shaking. Although it is still the most dominant economy, and although it still makes tremendous difference in terms of the movement of the stock exchanges, pattern of investment, trans-nationalization of capital and finance, and many more things, yet the dominating opinion suggests that the leverage of world power has already moved away from the USA to China. Yet one more question that is often posed the world over is: is USA still the country which holds the economic veins of the world economy? Again, there is no fixed or unequivocal answer; in fact, many people believe that half of USA is mortgaged to China or to Japan!.

One need not go into the details of USA's economic strength or weaknesses, but the fact does remain that the world's economic landscape has already undergone a change and it is going to change faster in coming years. According to a respectable forecast, around 2015, China and USA would be economies of about the same size in terms of GDP. There may still be sizeable differences in terms of many other indicators, most ostensibly the level of real per capita income, but the sheer size of the economy will be the same for both. And if you go further by 10 years or, say, to 2030, India will be very close to the USA economy. You can easily see that there is a transition from the Unipolar world to the Bipolar world, and then to a Tripolar world, with India coming into the fray. It has very clear implications about how USA has already started or how it will react to reassert itself in terms of the world economic situation and how it will like to align itself with the major economic blocks of the world. What kind of trade relations it may like to usher in with various economic blocks, particularly what will be its expectation with regard to the availability of the exhaustible, the non-renewable resources of the inputs, most ostensibly the oil resources, is going to determine the very prospect of peace at the world level (Virmani, 2004).

The second point that I wish to hammer home, again as a student of development economics, is that the mere growth of the economy does not decide the balance of power, and the prospects for peaceful advancement. The type, and composition of growth which is taking place in one country in contrast to that in its neighbouring country, have the potential for setting into motion the prospects for serious competition, sometimes leading to economic conflicts. In most cases, the competition is not only for the product markets but also for the supply and prices of inputs. In the ultimate analysis, it is the uninterrupted supply of inputs, and their price levels, that sustain the process of production, on an enduring basis. Many of the conflicts in the neo-colonial economic regimes that have been witnessed from time to time, have had their roots in input sources and their prices.



I would like to share with you just one or two very important pieces of information as far as India is concerned. Probably, most of you know that when we became independent in 1947, Indian economy around that time was described, at best, as an agrarian appendix of a colonial economy. Nearly 60 per cent of our income came only from agriculture and its allied activities. Today, the share of agriculture in our economy is less than 20 per cent. It is a fairly creditable historical landmark for a developing economy to reduce its dependence on agriculture to such an extent. We have not been able to significantly reduce our dependence on agricultural employment; close to 60 per cent of total workers. Nearly 67 per cent of rural male and 83 per cent of rural female workers are still 'dumped' in agriculture. The per worker productivity and earning gaps between workers in agriculture and those absorbed by non-agricultural sectors have been widening, fairly substantially, over time. And that clearly has been a source of despair among the rural populace, leading to an uninterrupted urban-ward movement of rural work seekers, and urban stress, congestions, lawlessness and crimes, and ultimately, the almost unbridgeable chasm between rural and urban India.

On the positive side, we have grown tremendously in non-agricultural components of economy, including in certain areas of our industrial sector. Manufacturing is the most dominant component of the industrial sector. In certain branches of manufacturing, we stand out as tall as world class players. India is a world class player in the area of automobiles, pharmaceuticals, textiles, and steel. It is but natural that India's progress, and standing, in these areas is going to pull some ripples in the world of economy at large. You might have recently heard that at one point of time we used to talk about multinational corporations coming from America to developing countries. Today, the process is reversed; a number of Indian manufacturing companies are fanning out to South Asian, South-east Asian and Middle-east countries. Indian multinationals are a living reality now. Our dominance and technical competence in certain areas is well recognized.

We are doing tremendously well for certain sections of the service sector too. Who does not know that ICT is our leading service sector? Although, even today, India does not have even one-per cent share of world trade in merchandise, yet its share in the world export of services is almost three per cent; perhaps, it one of the very big players as far as the international market for service sector is concerned. And then, ICT is the most happening sector on the external trade front. The whole world knows



that Indians are the ones who went over to USA and set up the Silicon Valley in California. And now, Indians are the ones who are coming back to India. They have already set up a flourishing Silicon Valley in Bangalore and two more of them are almost ready to be switched on in other cities of South India. Who could have imagined, even a decade back, that India would ride so high on the technology ladder and would become a world leader in this area. But then, India's international advance in this area is not without its share of questions or demurs. You might have been reading in the newspapers that many Americans feel that Indians in this area are taking away many of their jobs. There is resistance and the trade policy constraints which USA is trying to put in the way of Indian companies operating and expanding in their country. They are quite big, quite formidable and it is very difficult to combat them.

One more point that I want to deposit with you is that people no more talk about what used to be fashionably called the process of 'brain drain' some 30 years back. Some years back, 'brain drain' got converted into what some people called 'reverse brain'. In my wisdom, India has now opened what I would like to call a 'brain bank'. You can come and open your account in our brain bank and you can draw upon our expertise as far as activities enacted with brain are concerned. It may look to be a little exaggerated yet it is a fact that India has emerged as a very big player even in the export of medical services, educational services, engineering and construction services/consultancies, management services, among others. In the interpretation of some people, and some countries, we are posing a kind of direct upfront challenge to a number of countries.

One is tempted to believe, if not suspect, that not only distant lands are looking at us with interest and anxiety, but many people nearer to India are also looking at us, with a high degree of concern, some degree of fear and a bit of trepidation. It is in this context that working together for ushering in economic cooperation, straightening out trade policies, encouraging investment flows across the countries that we would be pretty sure of bringing peace to the area.

A word for the delegates from our neighbouring countries will be in order here. If there is peace in the area, not only that you will benefit from us, and we will benefit from you, but all other people who are looking at both of us, would also like to come and join you in your endeavours of promoting growth with peace. They would face no stakes in putting their investment into your country. However, if two neighbouring countries are fighting, other countries, neighbouring or otherwise, will hesitate to come

and shake hand with you. It is in this context that economics is at the very root of ensuring peace or otherwise.

Today, the whole world community is one in terms of ushering in technology revolutions, one after the other. The technology that you are developing is no more your technology. It can as well be internalized by me with some preconditions, and adaptation skills. Gone are the days when what you cooked in your kitchen was never known to me. If indeed the whole world has become a village, then what is being cooked in your house would be immediately known to me; at least, the flavor of that will easily travel to my house. If that indeed is happening, then we all have to live as an integrated global community. All human beings have to share the same sense of aspirations, face the same set of challenges and need to think and work together, to see that we are able to bring in the era of peace. By doing so, we all assure to ourselves a very fast pace of development and well-being of the human society at large. Working with lonely furrows is out of tune with the contemporary times.

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# 26

## *Economic Dimensions of Threats to Peace and Development*

*Ashok Parthasarathi*

*T*here is a tendency in discussions on peace to consider only explicit threats and that too military ones. However, the developing countries of today have faced and are continuing to face from the very time of their attainment of political freedom from colonial domination, numerous non military threats to their efforts to dedicate themselves to their pressing task of national development in a peaceful internal and external environment. These threats, which take many forms come from: industrialized country governments, the international financial and trade institutions like the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO and transnational corporations (TNCs) externally and regional religious and ethnic tensions and mal-governance and authoritarian governments internally.

## The Domestic Dimension of Development

Development is a process of inclusion, in the economic and social fabric of countries, of knowledge and new technologies and of accumulation of capital, education, technology and managerial capabilities relating to the organization of production and distribution of goods and services. It involves paying attention to the material and cultural resources of societies, the distribution of wealth and income inside them and their impact on the social fabric, the quality and nationalistic motivations of domestic leaderships, the stability of political institutions, the influence of economic ideas — whether inspired by the dominant powers and domestic privileged minorities or by the national interest of countries — and, finally, policies conducive or not to the promotion of national development and the ability of a country to define its own destiny in the global world.

However, relations of countries with their external environment also constitute essential determinants of development, in the same way as the obverse is also true viz. domestic conditions are important factors in the nature of relations of countries with their external environment.

Comparison of experiences of successful countries, namely, those that were behind the leading countries in different historical periods and succeeded in coming to the front, helps to illustrate the point. Whether it is the US, Germany, Japan, Sweden or Denmark in the 19<sup>th</sup> century or the emerging industrial countries in Asia, including India and China, more recently, it is interesting to observe that, in all cases, certain specific domestic conditions prevailed, notwithstanding the substantial differences in the size and resources of those countries and the transformation of globalization forces operating in different historical periods.

Provided a country has the sovereign right to run its own affairs and international relations, national development requires a sufficient amount of material and cultural resources to manage knowledge and technologies and organize self centered economic and social activities. Given these basic requisites, national development largely depends on the following domestic conditions:

- A substantial degree of social cohesion and absence of extreme disparities in the distribution of wealth and income; leadership or the elite with strategies of accumulation of power and wealth within the domestic domain, preserving the control of critical resources essential for capital accumulation and employment,
- Institutional stability and the political capacity of containing and solving social conflicts in reasonably peaceful terms,



- Predominance of critical ideas on economic and social matters to sustain policies consistent with national development objectives, and
- Long term policies capable of maintaining macroeconomic balances and promoting savings, investment, technical change and competitive abilities vis a vis the rest of the world.

These domestic conditions, or national density, prevailing in successful countries, and totally or partially absent in those which are not, are closely interrelated. For example, countries with extreme inequalities can be expected to have leaders and elites with closer connections with the central countries than with their own peoples and accumulate power mostly as agents of foreign interests. When this situation prevails, it is not necessary for neo-liberal circles of the North to preach the gospel in the South. Leaders and elites in the South itself are capable enough of doing so by their own initiative.

In the golden years after the Second World War, the South was favored by three circumstantial factors. They were: an extraordinary rate of growth in the industrial countries; the substitution of the orthodox paradigm by the Keynesian one; and, finally, the post independence euphoria in the new sovereign countries in Asia and Africa.

The 1970's were a glorious period in the history of North-South economic and political relations. This was largely due to the two crude oil price hikes effected by the oil producing countries of the South in 1973 and 1979 and the formation of OPEC. It was the first but regrettably hitherto the only time in the history of the last two centuries that the North really felt threatened by the South. There was also a wave of nationalization of the "Seven Sisters" — the Northern oil transnationals operating in the South, that is the emergence of these oil companies in the public sector — which were almost as strong, powerful and efficient as the TNC oil companies of the North. The oil hikes led to huge transfers of financial resources by Northern consumer countries to the OPEC and those countries used some of those funds to undertake rapid economic and social development. However, at the same time due to the feudal character of the elites in the OPEC, the Northern Governments and the IMF and the World Bank were able to persuade and pressurize them to invest their surplus petro dollars in Western banks rather than use them as powerful levers for changing the nature of the international economic order, by investing them at least in part in the oil importing developing countries who, despite having to face huge balance of payments problems due to the steeply increased oil prices,

supported the OPEC strongly. This was also despite the UN as a whole and the Group of 77 developing countries (actually numbering then around 125) adopting resolutions for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). As a result a golden opportunity for the South to advance its own development and reorient the political and economic international balance of power in its favor was lost.

In the 1980's, things went back to "normal". It was by then clear that political independence is one, but only one of the necessary pre-requisites for development. Latin America is the most remarkable example. After two centuries of political independence, it has not yet overcome economic subordination and underdevelopment. Oil prices had started coming down rapidly due to a combination of increases in production and arm-twisting of OPEC by the North led by the USA. Consequently, the leverage of the South gradually got dissipated. This was accompanied by an economic near catastrophe in the developing countries of Latin America — particularly the oil importing ones — due the huge commercial loans they had taken in the preceding five to seven years from Northern private commercial banks, which they were then unable to repay. Countries like Brazil, Argentina and Mexico were particularly seriously affected with hyperinflation setting in and being responsible for mass discontent manifested in demonstrations and strikes, thereby vitiating internal peace and development.

At the same time, the decline in the growth rates in the industrial countries and the dramatic expansion of speculative financial flows coincided with the revival of the orthodox paradigm in the North. The global atmosphere for development in the periphery became less favorable if not downright hostile. The Latin American debt crisis of the early eighties was the starting point of the structural adjustment conditionality of the multilateral financial institutions, the IMF and the World Bank agencies. By then, the North had regained its traditional convictions about what was good for the South.

### **The Washington Consensus**

The Washington Consensus is the new version of the scriptures sermonized by the central countries to the periphery but largely overlooked in the management of their own affairs. The rules of the game of international trade, financial flows, foreign direct investment technology and intellectual property rights, nowadays, as in the past, are cut to the measure of the industrial countries' interests.

The Consensus is based on the neo-liberal principle that development is externally determined by forces operating in the global market.

Historical experience is conclusively to the contrary. National density, that is, nation building, is essential for growth and transformation and it can only be based, in the first place, on forces operating in the domestic arena of each country. Nations are built from within outwards and not the other way round.

The Neo-liberalism of the Consensus is also founded on the assumption that most transactions take place in the global market. Yet, exports represent not more than 20 per cent of world GNP while the production and investment levels of affiliates of transnational corporations represent less than 15 per cent of GNP and fixed investment in the world economy. Thus, domestic markets and savings are crucial for demand, investment and employment.

The gap between national densities of countries of the South and, thus, of the quality of their answers to globalizations, helps to explain the increasing discrepancies in growth and welfare within the South itself.

In the important field of information and knowledge, for example, most of us live in fact in a global village but, in the real world of production, employment and growth, we still live in an international framework of nations and states.

Despite the flaws in the theoretical foundations and failures of the original Washington Consensus recipe, the gospel is presently augmented to reinforce or adapt the first Decalogue with new items such as corporate governance and flexible labour markets. It is interesting to observe that while the multilateral financial institutions and even UN agencies insisted on the basic 'privatize, deregulate, and liberalize' formula, they overlook the overvaluation of currencies, as it happened, for example, in the Argentine case. Such overvaluation demolished the competitive capacity of domestic manufacturing, increased fiscal and foreign payments imbalances and, finally, exploded in the foreign debt crisis. But overvaluation was crucial to increase the demand of foreign financing, promote capital flights and the transfer of profits and interests. It was in fact functional to speculative capital movements.

While some of the most successful emerging industrial countries for example, the Republic of Korea, fell into the financial trap in 1997-98, they were able to recover in a brief period of time. On the contrary, in Latin American experience, foreign debt became a chronic malaise. The difference lies in the fact that Korea and many of the ASEAN countries have provided very good answers to globalization in the field of production technology, investment and trade and, thus, was able to rapidly overcome



their mistakes in the financial arena. This was not the case in Latin America. The overall vulnerability of her economic systems prolonged the duration of financial crisis.

## Globalization

Globalization unfolds the integration forces of the world economy launched by the impact of scientific knowledge and innovations. It is, at the same time, a set of rules of the game on international relations, established by the dominant countries of each historical period. Globalization provides challenges and opportunities and creates the dilemma of development in a global world.

The answers provided to solve the above dilemma in critical fields such as trade, finance, investment, knowledge and information, become decisive for economic development. The economic history of each country can thus largely be narrated along the path followed by its answers to the risks and opportunities of globalization.

**The International Financial Institutions:** These institutions are major instruments of the industrialized countries in their domination of the South and in binding the developing countries to follow the interests of the former. Many studies have shown that the policies of the IMF in applying its “one size fits all” economic policy to the economic conditions in developing countries have done incalculable harm to countries in both Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa. When that “one size” is based on neo classical economic theory and a rejection of Keynesian theory, the damage in terms of employment, agricultural and industrial development and the social sectors of health and education is even greater. It has led to accentuating poverty and deprivation without providing any mechanisms for genuine endogenous development. Both agencies believe in and practice the very opposite of the crucial maxim that nations are built from within outwards and not the other way around. An important dogma of both agencies is that foreign direct and portfolio investment is an absolutely essential prerequisite for development, when there is so much evidence that FDI leads to worsening of balance of payments, does not enable access to the so-called “latest” technology, stifles or co-opts local investment and entrepreneurship, to mention only a few of its adverse impacts. From my own personal experience as a Secretary in the Government of India in Science and Technology — intensive ministries such as Non Conventional Energy, Electronics and Food Processing — I can give numerous concrete examples to bear out these assessments and conclusions.



**Transnational Corporations (TNCs):** The literature on these entities is vast and varied. However, it has been my experience in the Government of India that along with industrialized country governments and the international financial institutions promoted and run by the industrialized countries, the TNCs (which form the third leg of the tripod) work to inhibit and constrain the self-reliant development of developing countries. Their financial, technological, production and informational capacities are so enormous that it has been a constant battle even for a major country like ours with fairly well developed capabilities in the government, parliament and the judiciary, to bend the TNCs to fall in line with our endogenous development objectives, policies and programmes. How then can the 120 developing countries with less than 20 million population and the 50 least developing countries among them, stand up to the rapacious policies and activities of these corporations. They coerce, bribe and manipulate government officials, members of Parliament and the judiciary to advance not only their commercial interests but also their political interests. Kaisers in the aluminum sector in Ghana, Anglo-American in South Africa, Rio Tinto Zinc in the mining sector in many developing countries, Monsanto more recently in the areas of BT Cotton, BT Vegetables and edible oil, and Unilever in consumer products are only a few examples. It has been our experience in India that it is only State owned (Public Sector) companies of some reasonable size that can stand up to TNCs. That is one of the important reasons why the OECD countries, the IMF and the World Bank are so opposed to such State owned companies. However, policies and practices to bend the TNCs to national development goals in the South will only be as strong as the integrity, commitment, competence and dedication of the ruling elites in our countries, whether they be in the executive, in the legislature in the judiciary or the media. This is a challenge for us all.

**Corporate Sovereignty:** A particularly insidious concept that the TNCs have successfully promoted is that of “Corporate Sovereignty”. This is particularly manifest in agreements between Southern governments and TNCs in the extractive industries such as oil and minerals. Recently for example, the Government of Belize not only exempted the Chalillo Dam Project in that country to be undertaken by a Canadian owned project development TNC from any environmental laws other than those which the TNC had agreed to follow — which were far less stringent than Belize's own laws — but also exempted the company from all taxes except payroll taxes. What is more, not satisfied with such concessions by the executive of the Belize Government, the TNC got the government to get the legislature to pass an Act which put the Dam Project beyond legal challenge in any court

— thereby violating the protection of judicial rights available to Belize under the Inter American Human Rights Convention.

Another example is the case of a petroleum TNC consortium called BTC led by British Petroleum and the developing countries of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey. Under the Host Country Agreements signed by BTC with those three governments, the BTC consortium is exempted from commercial and all other obligations from all domestic laws of all three host countries where those laws conflict with the terms of oil pipeline construction projects involving the BTC consortium. As a result, those host governments have effectively regulated their both executive and legislative powers to protect their citizens from potential environmental damage and associated health and safety hazards or to improve the regulatory regime in any way. In Turkey the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs was required to give a written undertaking in November 2001 waiving the requirement for site investigations (despite an almost total absence of on-the-ground data on flora and fauna) along the pipeline route. The project agreement also overrode key provisions of Turkey's Expropriation Law which requires that the price for expropriated property was always to be negotiated between the Government and the company involved. Instead Turkey agreed to compulsorily purchase at a consortium stipulated price, the consortium-constructed pipeline. This was done under an emergency Turkish law to be invoked only in times of national disasters or war. Many more such instances which the TNCs would never dare to even propose if similar projects were undertaken on contract to a Northern government, can be given.

**The World Trade Organization (WTO):** As is well known this organization was set up in 1995 pursuant to the conclusion of the Final Act of the Uruguay Round of Trade Negotiation which was elaborately negotiated between most of the countries of the world over 1986-94. The basic objective of WTO is allegedly to set norms and standards for world trade and to provide a Dispute Settlement Mechanism to legally resolve trade related disputes between member countries. The Final Act of the Uruguay Round involved the conclusion of multilateral agreements in the areas of Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIMS) and agreements of trade in Agriculture, Manufacturing and Services.

The TRIPS agreement involved a steep increase in the stringency of national patent laws — only providing for product patents, extending the lifetime of patents to 20 years from the shorter periods which prevailed in

many countries, particularly developing countries like ours, where it was 14 years till then, not permitting any preferential treatment for patents taken out by nationals and national companies over those taken out by foreigners and foreign companies most of the latter being TNCs etc.

The main thrust of TRIMs was on the so-called “national treatment” of foreign investment and thereby again foreign companies and TNCs, unstinted repatriation of dividends, royalties on technologies licensed by TNCs to their subsidiaries in developing countries, non requirement by national governments of “localization conditions” i.e., indigenization levels of manufacturing operations in developing countries even on a phased basis as several developing countries like India, Brazil, Mexico had been following for several decades etc.

On the other hand when it came to trade in agriculture, the USA and the European Union both of which provide huge domestic subsidies to their agricultural producers and also subsidize their exports dug their toes in and refused to agree to the dismantling of these subsidies (running at levels of around US\$ 1 billion per day) even on a long term phased basis. This meant that developing countries with the capacity to undertake agricultural exports to the industrialized countries at lower prices than those of agricultural companies and farmers in the industrialized countries would be unable to undertake such exports due to non-market factors.

As the provisions of the Uruguay Round were progressively implemented despite stiff opposition by the developing countries in the WTO, it became more and more obvious that the WTO organization itself which was supposed to be a fair and independent interlocutor between the interests of the industrialized and developing countries was really an instrument of the former to increase the former's grip and domination over the South in several crucial areas of economic and social development. The WTO did not flinch when it came to spreading its wings in domains which could strictly be said to cross the confines of the international trade regime e.g. in the areas of intellectual property rights (affecting access to and pricing of medicines — a very important and sensitive issue particularly in developing countries), laying down investment rules which make it difficult if not downright impossible for the developing countries to promote industries, and more recently by actively promoting privatization in the critical areas of Services which include some of the most essential public services in almost all developing countries. In short, the WTO would seem to be comfortable when encroaching on the policy space of the countries of the South (as indicated above) but subtly and yet tenaciously restricting the loosening of the grip of the North on that same policy space.



The developing countries have long lived on promises of a truly fair and equitable international trade regime with preferential provisions particularly for the Least Developed Countries (almost 50 in number and mostly in Africa). But these premises have failed to materialize due to the sustained resistance nay tenacious intransigence, of the North and the skillful double game played by the WTO Secretariat. As a Deputy Director General of the WTO, Valentine Sendanyoye Rugwabiza pointed out in a recent address, 'At a time when shared prosperity (between the North and the South) depends more than ever on multilateralism the cost of failure extends far beyond the trade system'.

These machinations of the North and the WTO Secretariat have led, in the last two-three years, to the formation of powerful blocks of developing countries in the WTO such as the G-20 and the G-33 with India playing a major role in their formation and in their continued collective negotiation and action vis-à-vis the North. But that fight has to be a continuous battle on two fronts — unraveling the wrongs of the past and making sure that no new chains to freedom of policy space are brought in. The burden of unfair rules and imbalances in the international trading system have played themselves out, particularly on resources rich (in oil, hard minerals) Southern countries for decades now and for centuries before. However, no wholesale revolution is in sight. The search for a just and equitable international trading system has to be an incremental one calling for the South to be tenacious, ever vigilant, patient and prove itself willing and able for a sustained battle.

**The Problem of Governance:** The conventional opinion prevailing in the North suggests that governance in the South relates to the compliance, by all branches of the political system, with the criteria of the market. Thus, good governance would be the simultaneous ability by all branches of government to produce market friendly policies. Provincial or state and local governments, are all expected to comply with that requisite of governance.

In the western political tradition, inherited from Locke and Montesquieu, the division and independence of the three branches of government (parliament, the executive and the judiciary), are innate to the democratic system. In the case of governments organized on a federal basis, local authorities retain a substantial amount of autonomy vis-a-vis the central authorities. Given the prevailing political, economic, social and cultural conditions in the South, the "good governance" that the North preaches to the South, is only viable within authoritarian regimes. Thus,



democracy would be a luxury allowed only to the North. This is not a rhetorical argument. For example, in its negotiations with debtor countries, IMF usually brings into play conditionalities to be fulfilled simultaneously by all branches of government and provincial administrations. Democracy and good governance, from the perspective of the South, is a different matter. It means transparency in public affairs, accountability, efficient use of available resources for sustainable development and well being, freedom and the rule of law.

## The Future

The dilemma of development in a global world refers to how to respond to the challenges and opportunities of globalization under different national conditions. Nations of the South have little relative power to change the rules of the game of the world order but, in many cases, a decisive ability to transform their domestic realities and, thus, change the style of relations with their external environment.

Globalization takes place nowadays in a scenario very different from the one prevailing up to middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The outcome of the concentration of wealth and income in the advanced nations and in the well-to-do segments of the world population remains no longer encapsulated within the frontiers of the developing countries. It therefore leads to global backlash effects that exacerbate religious and ethnic confrontations, bring about violence and terrorism, produces unwelcome migratory movements, gives incentives to production and traffic of drugs, encourages the arms trade and other calamities that plague the contemporary world. In fact, inequalities and social injustice are the main sources of the current threats to peace, security and development. No superpower or concerted action by the leading industrialized countries can eliminate or repress, by the mere use of force, the underlying tensions emerging from the disparities prevailing in the international arena. Thus, globalization as the field for the crude exercise of power is no longer compatible with peace and security. The North is taking too long to understand the new realities unchained by the strength of the integrative forces of the contemporary world and the nature and magnitude of the dangers it is confronting.

Nowadays, globalization is what it has always been — the field for the exercise of power. Clearly, the leadership in the North is not up to the dimension of the challenge. Similar is the case in many countries of the South. Globalization has also unmasked the deep roots of backwardness and injustice that lie beneath the social and political fabric of many developing countries. They are threatened by the global scenario but, in the

final analysis, the answers to such challenges are built, in the first place, from within. Stories of successes and failures in the South can be explained by the quality of the responses to the challenges of the world scenario. Thus, for example, several recently independent countries in Asia provided very good answers to the perils and opportunities of the international system and now belong to the group of very successful economies. We have now enough evidence of radically different development abilities in countries of the South. To a large extent, each country gets the globalization it deserves.

In this framework, South-South cooperation and regional integration become important tools to expand the freedom of maneuver in the world scenario and promote national development.

The South should continue to preach the gospel of a new world order, of solidarity and progress for all, as indispensable for peace, security, protection of the environment, freedom and democracy, faster growth and full employment in the world at large. What is good for the South is also good for the North. The eradication of the irrationality of violence and terrorism requires the removal of the deeper irrationality of poverty and injustice prevailing in the global scenario. The creation of a civilized new world order includes culture and other spheres of social activity and demands the partnership of practitioners of the same ideals in the South and the North.

Countries of the South do not have power enough to change the rules of the game of globalization, administered by the central countries of the North through the multilateral financial institutions and their regional counterparts (ADB, IADB and the African Development Bank), through the WTO and through their collusory conduct in concert with TNCs and in myriad other ways. Nor can the South change the forces of integration of human societies across the front imposed by the advance of science and technology. But the impact of exogenous factors can be transformed from within countries by providing good answers to the risks and challenges of globalization. In other words, from a perspective of the South, we cannot change the world we live in but we can change how we live in that given world. By doing so, the South can accumulate power to change the world itself. In fact, the growing influence of the emerging industrial countries like India and China is already changing the balance of power in the world's political, economic, strategic affairs and contributing positively to advancing peace and development globally.

The South Consensus on Peace and Development should not fall in the same neo-liberal irrationality to propose the same policies for all types

of countries and particular situations. Yet, there are some basic experiences relevant for all developing countries. Such as the importance of macroeconomic balances, progressive redistribution of incomes, control of speculative financial flows, orientation of private direct investment to targets compatible with national development, expansion of domestic savings and scientific and technological abilities, regional integration, transparency of public activities and reinforcement of the State's responsibility and authority to supply public goods and to fix rules of the game compatible with growth, social justice and good governance. In other words, policies for the dynamic interactions between the market and the State, linking the private profit motives with sustainable development.

The South Consensus will serve simultaneously three aims:

- It might help each developing country in the design and implementation of its national policies.
- It would provide a platform to engage in the ideological debate with the vision prevailing in the multilateral organizations, financial markets and ruling circles of the North and in those influential groups that share those views within the South itself.
- It will provide solid theoretical and empirical criteria to negotiate with multilateral (chiefly the international financial institutions) organizations in global forums as well as in the bilateral negotiations in which developing countries are engaged.

In the North, respectable opinions are very critical of the ideology of the Washington Consensus and of the consequences of the implementation of neoliberal policies in developing countries. However in parts of the South, the voice of the South is largely absent from this current global debate. As we have indicated there are very vivid arguments on such critical issues and interventionist policies and actions. It is necessary to bring these views to the global debate in the context of a South Consensus.

## **Global Warming and Climate Change**

The basic features, implications and threats posed to the very survival of mankind on our only one earth are well known. But here are some of the recent developments. If we do not bring about a reduction of 50 per cent in the planet's emissions of carbon dioxide and other "Greenhouse Gases" there will be a 2-3 degree Centigrade rise in global temperatures by 2050. Indeed, some experts say that the effects of a 2 degree temperature rise has already become inevitable. This will lead to Europe, Asia, Canada, Central America and Amazonia losing up to 30 per cent of its forests. Forest



fires, floods and sea level rise will take major dimensions and be uncontrollable. A rise of 2-3 degrees C will also mean less fresh water availability in parts of West Africa, Central America, Southern Europe and Eastern USA, raising the probability of severe and numerous droughts in these areas. Loss of forests in Amazonian and Europe, Canada and Central America could reach 60 per cent. Extreme flooding or heat waves that used to happen only once in 100 years hitherto will happen once in 10 years.

The only way to prevent all these disastrous environmental changes, is for the highly industrialized countries of North America, Europe and Japan (who generate 75% of the World's greenhouse gas emissions) to meet their commitments under the Kyoto Protocol to reduce their Greenhouse Gas emissions to 1990 levels by 2012. However, the USA, the world's largest emitter is doing nothing to take on that responsibility. President Bush is on record, as saying that accepting the goals of Kyoto Protocol — which the USA has not signed — would mean a “wholesale change in the American way of life” which is un-acceptable. Europe is much more concerned and has made some progress in reducing its emissions particularly in the last five to seven years, but it will also not meet the Kyoto targets. Both the USA and EU are now in the process of restarting their nuclear power production programmes after almost 30 years of a ban on such power station on grounds of health and safety and nuclear waste disposal problems, apart from the higher costs of energy from nuclear reactors compared to that from fossil fuel power plants. What is more, China has become the third largest fossil fuel guzzler and Greenhouse Gas emitter, due to practically its entire electric power programme being based on its huge reserves (the world's largest) of low grade and high sulphur coals. In 2005 China added 60,000 MW of coal fired power plants but runs them at abysmally low plant load factors of around 25-30 per cent thereby not only causing huge air pollution in the short term, but also requiring much more coal combustion per Megawatt of power generated and thereby adding disproportionately to Greenhouse Gas emissions.

Thus, global warming and climate change have and will increasingly become major threats to peace and development worldwide. We need decisive action now; the technologies are available; the need is for industrialized and developing countries (at least the most developed of them) changing their economic development models, styles and goals to a low energy life style which emphasizes: rapidly realizing new designs of nuclear power plants which are safer, cheaper and less radioactive – waste producing, to a massive programme of energy production based on



biomass, including bio-fuels and other renewable energy sources such as wind and solar (and in the highly industrialized countries to electric and fuel – cell based vehicles as well) and an equally massive programme of energy efficiency and conservation in both developed and developing countries.

### **Text of US-Russia Treaty on Nuclear Arms Reductions**

The United States of America and the Russian Federation, hereinafter referred to as the Parties,

Embarking upon the path of new relations for a new century and committed to the goal of strengthening their relationship through cooperation and friendship,

Believing that new global challenges and threats require the building of a qualitatively new foundation for strategic relations between the Parties,

Desiring to establish a genuine partnership based on the principles of mutual security, cooperation, trust, openness, and predictability,

Committed to implementing significant reductions in strategic offensive arms,

Proceeding from the Joint Statements by the President of the United States of America and the President of the Russian Federation on Strategic Issues of July 22, 2001, in Genoa and on a New Relationship between the United States and Russia of November 13, 2001, in Washington,

Mindful of their obligations under the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms of July 31, 1991, hereinafter referred to as the START Treaty,

Mindful of their obligations under Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of July 1, 1968, and

Convinced that this Treaty will help to establish more favorable conditions for actively promoting security and cooperation, and enhancing international stability,

Have agreed as follows:

### **Article I**

Each Party shall reduce and limit strategic nuclear warheads, as stated by the President of the United States of America on November 13, 2001, and as stated by the President of the Russian Federation on November 13, 2001, and December 13, 2001, respectively, so that by December 31, 2012

the aggregate number of such warheads does not exceed 1700-2200 for each Party. Each Party shall determine for itself the composition and structure of its strategic offensive arms, based on the established aggregate limit for the number of such warheads.

## **Article II**

The Parties agree that the START Treaty remains in force in accordance with its terms.

## **Article III**

For purposes of implementing this Treaty, the Parties shall hold meetings at least twice a year of a Bilateral Implementation Commission.

## **Article IV**

1. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification in accordance with the constitutional procedures of each Party.
2. This Treaty shall enter into force on the date of the exchange of instruments of ratification.
3. This Treaty shall remain in force until December 31, 2012 and may be extended by agreement of the Parties or superseded earlier by a subsequent agreement.
4. Each Party, in exercising its national sovereignty, may withdraw from this Treaty upon three months written notice to the other Party.

## **Article V**

This Treaty shall be registered pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Done at Moscow on May 24, 2002, in two copies, each in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

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## *International Trade Negotiations and Strategic Forum Shifting*

*Wolfgang Blaas*

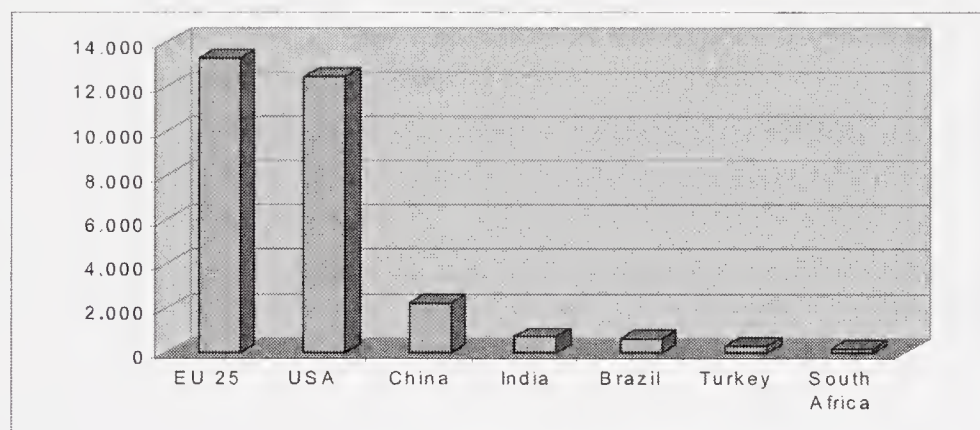
A particular way to influence the rules is to determine the negotiation arena, i.e. to determine the forum in which trade negotiations take place. We may think of bilateral, plurilateral and multilateral negotiation arenas<sup>1</sup>. This may be of great importance for the outcome of negotiations and therefore for business, since the setting of one arena may be more or less advantageous for one country than another setting.

Furthermore, the changing of negotiation arenas can be an important strategy to promote one's trading interests. We call this strategy "arena switching" or "forum shifting". Different forms of arena switching are to be observed, namely (1) switching at the multilateral level, i.e. from one multilateral institution (WTO, UNCTAD, World Bank, etc.) to another, (2) switching from one negotiation level to another, e.g. from a multilateral to a plurilateral or to a bilateral arena.

Who defines the negotiation arena? It seems rather obvious that the relative influence of a country on the final negotiation setting will depend on the (relative) economic and political power of the country. The more powerful country has more options for trade policy strategies than the less powerful one.

I report from a study, forthcoming next January<sup>2</sup>, where we have invited economists from seven countries to write on this issue. The study includes two highly industrialized economies, the USA and the EU, and five large emerging market economies, China and India, Brazil, South Africa and Turkey. A quick look on their GDP (at official exchange rates) demonstrates their relative power to influence the forum, where international trade negotiations take place (Figure 1).

**Figure 1**  
**Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in billion US-\$ at Official Exchange Rates, 2005**



Sources: [www.cia.gov](http://www.cia.gov); The Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies

It may be expected that such a power structure generates a particular structure of strategic behaviour. This is the topic of my paper. In the following three sections I deal first with the strategies of the EU and the USA in the DOHA round, then with the reactions of the five emerging powers, and finally I draw some conclusions in summarizing the paper.

### **Strategies of the EU and the USA**

The US government and the EU commission have been key figures in agenda setting during the DOHA round. Arenas were switched at the multilateral level and from the multilateral to the plurilateral and the bilateral levels.

Forum switching at the multilateral level has mainly been motivated by the calculus that involving a new arena might increase the chance of pushing through the preferred set of norms. Thus, this strategy was solely



linked to norm-making. The switch from a multilateral to plurilateral or bilateral arenas has been motivated by a more complex set of considerations. On the one hand, it has been aimed at furthering the spread of specific norms at least in geographically more circumscribed areas when the chances to get them adopted at a global level were low. On the other hand, plurilateral and bilateral agreements have aimed at gaining specific trading privileges.

However, neither the US nor the EU have been completely successful in pushing through their agenda. At a number of junctures, they encountered determined opposition to their proposals from groups of Third World states. Their criticism centred on the enlargement of the negotiation agenda and on the issue of agricultural trade. The critical stand of Third World governments was supported by a broad range of NGOs. Twice, key meetings ended in open disagreement. One reaction of the US government and the EU Commission has been to try to co-opt specific key players more closely into the negotiation process with the aim to soften their stand. The other reaction was to switch to other arenas of negotiation.

The US and the EU have resorted to bilateral negotiations, where the asymmetry of power is even more pronounced than on the multilateral level. In these negotiations, they have pushed for concessions beyond the WTO agenda, for example on topics like equal treatment of foreign and domestic investors, government procurement, opening up of the service sector, and property rights. The rationale was to use the results of these negotiations as a point of departure, as a kind of a *fait accompli* to be included in later negotiations on the multilateral level.

Promoting a WTO agenda has not been the only rationale behind promoting bilateral trade agreements. Both the US government and the EU Commission also seek to gain privileged access to specific markets for US or EU capital. Thus, gaining a competitive edge is a second rationale.

However, the other way round may also be seen as advantageous from business perspectives, i.e. to go for the multilateral level. In the case of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), it was a single national government — France — that gave in to strong protests against MAI and brought the MAI project to a fall in the realm of OECD. Immediately afterwards, the European Commission took up the demands of industry in favour of a multilateral agreement on investment and reaffirmed its will to negotiate the issue in the WTO. Thus, switching the arena also implied switching the negotiating institution, potentially opening the way to overriding resistances at the national level.

Switches from the national to the European level have repercussions for the power relations. Trade negotiations at the European level are well shielded from public interference. At present, the European Parliament has no institutional powers in European trade negotiations. The Commission and the national governments (Council of Ministers) liaise about the trade negotiations in a special Committee which operates behind closed doors. In some areas, ratification by national parliaments still is necessary, though the Nice Treaty reduced the scope of these areas of co-decision. Thus, the European decision structure is clearly biased in favour of executive branches of governance. This favours business lobby groups who have good access to the European Commission<sup>3</sup>. These groups, like the Europe Roundtable of Industrialists or Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederation of Europe (UNICE), usually represent globally acting business. However, agricultural interests enjoy a close relationship with the Commission and are also pressing for continuing protective sectoral dispositives. Europeanised business with global interest has an obvious interest in concentrating the negotiating powers in the hands of the Commission.

### Defence by the Emerging Powers

We now turn to the five countries China, India, Brazil, South Africa and Turkey. All the emerging powers — with the exception of Turkey — preferred to negotiate on the multilateral level where the power asymmetries are not as large as in bilateral negotiations. And in contrast to the US government and the EU commission, who aimed at reducing the policy space of national governments, they tried to preserve national policy space.

In regard to bilateral and plurilateral negotiations two groups of countries (again excepting Turkey) have to be distinguished. On the one hand, there are China and India, who are neither part of any significant regional groupings nor have they been engaged in asymmetrical free trade negotiations with the USA and the European Union. On the other hand, Brazil and South Africa are leading members of regional groupings and have taken part in free trade negotiations with both the USA and the EU.

**China and India:** China and India are large quasi-continental economies with a diversified industrial base. Therefore, the need for them to seek integration on economic grounds has not emerged. Furthermore, they would totally dominate any regional integration they would enter. Vis-à-vis the USA and the EU, they are in relatively autonomous positions. Therefore, bilateral treaties with China and India are not a promising route for the US

government and the European Commission to create precedence for global negotiations.

Both China and India have intensified South-South cooperation. In particular, the Chinese government has recently struck a number of bilateral and plurilateral trade and cooperation agreements and has developed close links with ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations). These do not aim at establishing certain trade norms as precedence for global negotiations, but aim at creating privileged economic relations. It seems that securing access to raw materials is one of the major concerns for Chinese trade agreements. Even in the case of Brazil, a relatively highly industrialised Third World country, the availability of natural resources is a major source of attraction.

**Brazil and South Africa:** On the other hand, both Brazil and South Africa are at the centre of regional groupings: Brazil in MERCOSUR and the emerging Comunidad Sudamericana de Naciones, South Africa in the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and in the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

Both governments have been involved in free trade negotiations with the US government and the European Commission. However, both the strategies chosen by the Brazilian and South African governments and the outcome have differed. Brazilian governments (both Cardoso and Lula) have time and again insisted that existing regional bodies (like MERCOSUR) should be able to formulate a joint position in the FTAA negotiations. The Lula government has displayed even an unambiguous resolve in building a South American alliance against the FTAA project. With the EU, Brazil has not negotiated on its own, but as part of MERCOSUR. In both cases, the Brazilian reservations about the proposed free trade treaties have been essential for the deadlock of the negotiations.

In contrast, South Africa has negotiated on its own with the European Union (and limited the role of its SACU partners to consultation). In the negotiations with the US which failed in spring 2006, it implicated at least the SACU. The larger SADC grouping has played no role in either of the negotiations. South Africa concluded a free trade agreement with the European Union in 1999. Though the agreement is not as constraining as the originally proposed FTAA agreement would have been for the Americas, it goes beyond the WTO commitments and the present WTO agenda. Thus, South Africa has been somewhat more accommodating in bilateral or plurilateral negotiations than Brazil until today. At first glance, this is rather



surprising since Brazil is more vulnerable to external pressures due to its permanent debt problems.

This difference might be attributed to a number of factors:

- The FTAA negotiations have more far-reaching implications for Brazil than the free trade agreement with the EU has for South Africa. A change in the agricultural trade regime is one of highest, if not the foremost priority of the Brazilian government in trade negotiations. Giving in to the restrictive position of the US government (or the EU Commission on that count) would prejudice the multilateral stance as well. The original FTAA agreement would have been disadvantageous to a number of Brazilian industries and would have considerably reduced the economic policy options of the Brazilian government. The Brazilian industry is more diversified and seems to be politically stronger than its South African counterpart. Sections of Brazilian business have expressed their reservations about FTAA. Agriculture was not that high on the South African agenda, and the free trade agreement is not as constraining in the industrial and service sectors.
- FTAA would de facto imply the demise of MERCOSUR. MERCOSUR is both important for the international weight of Brazil and for some of its industries. Southern African economies are structurally very closely linked to South Africa as part of the colonial heritage. South African business does not need to rely on formal agreements in order to have an economically very strong (if not dominant) position in the neighbouring states. It could maintain its positions even in the face of open political hostility during the apartheid era. Therefore, the regional groupings do not have the same political and economic weight for South Africa as they do have for Brazil.
- There are differences in the institutional tradition. Brazil has a history of an autonomous foreign (trade) policy. The Lula government can rely on this institutional tradition. On the other hand, the South African government tried to re-establish its international position on two counts. Firstly, it aimed at re-establishing the international position of the South African state which had been ostracized for many years due to the apartheid regime. Secondly, the ANC (African National Congress) as former liberation movement wanted to establish its credentials in western



states after the end of the Cold War. Both factors might have contributed to a rather accommodating position towards western states on some issues. However, this is mediated by the stress that the South African government puts on an “African Renaissance” and its aspiration for a leading role among African states and the developing world.

- The popular movement against the FTAA is stronger in Brazil (and Latin America) than is the case with similar movements in Southern Africa.

**Turkey:** Though the interest of dominant Turkish interest groups and of the Turkish government did not completely coincide with EU and US positions in the WTO negotiations, Turkish aspirations for full EU membership restricted Ankara's space for manoeuvre significantly. In addition, Turkey's negotiation position was weakened by concessions it had to make in agreements with the IMF. Thus, Ankara's autonomy was severely circumscribed both by its economic vulnerability and by its strategic orientation towards a EU membership.

### **Northern Activism against Southern Defence**

The US government and the European Commission have actively pursued strategies of forum-shifting combining multilateral, plurilateral and bilateral negotiations. Their strategies have had limited success so far. WTO negotiations have been cumbersome and tortuous. Third World states were able to get some sensitive points off the agenda. In the run-up toward the Hong Kong Conference in December 2005, western governments focused their attention on India and Brazil inviting them to be part, together with Australia, of the “Five Interested Parties”. Thus, India and Brazil were integrated into key WTO negotiation processes. For the US and the EU, this negotiation strategy paid off. According to Bello (2005), both Brazil and India came to Hong Kong willing to accept a proportionally higher tariff cut for high tariffs in the area of Non-Agricultural Market Access (NAMA) and moving towards a “plurilateral” process of services negotiations eroding the flexible request-offer approach that had marked the GATS negotiations. These were key concessions to the US and the EU and became part of the Hong Kong Ministerial Declaration<sup>4</sup>. Brazil expected — and achieved — a date for the phasing out of export subsidies in agriculture. Thus, the Southern defence has been weakened in the run-up to Hong Kong. The compromise of NAMA will affect in particular Third World countries who have rather high tariffs in order to build up import substitutions industries.

The formula on GATS is likely to step up the pressure on developing countries to open up more service sectors. Thus, the US and EU negotiators achieved some real advances in their WTO strategies in Hong Kong. Nevertheless, they still face stumbling blocks before the negotiation round can be completed.

In a number of arenas, Third World middle powers have blocked negotiations on sensitive points in plurilateral or bilateral negotiations. In this respect, they did have some defensive capacity, though there are differences in the degree of resisting strategies of carrot and stick at the plurilateral and bilateral level. These differences can be explained by the degree of vulnerability to political and economic pressures, the concrete constellation of interests and institutional designs and traditions. Though Third World middle powers successfully engaged in global and regional alliance building, their pro-active capabilities in forum-shifting have been quite limited during the Doha Round.

It seems rather likely that both the US government and the European Commission will lean rather more heavily on plurilateral and bilateral negotiations after the completion of the Doha Round — whatever the results of that round might be. WTO negotiations have proved to be cumbersome. Their leverage is greater at the plurilateral and bilateral level. Third World regional blocs have been weakened by US and EU bloc or bilateral trade negotiation strategies and internal imbalances. SADC has already split into several groups negotiating separately with the European Union. The willingness of Columbia, Ecuador and Peru to sign free trade agreements with the US made Venezuela announce in April 2006 that it will leave the Comunidad Andina de Naciones. Thus, this regional bloc is also falling apart. The Uruguayan government is pretending to seek a special deal with the US. This attitude is creating tension within MERCOSUR. However, it is doubtful whether the progressive Uruguayan government would be willing to endanger the existence of MERCOSUR. It might be that it uses the talks with the US government as a device to get more leverage on MERCOSUR decisions. Definitely, the Uruguayan government would like to see a more prominent role of small states in MERCOSUR decision-making. In this respect, there seems to be some room for Brazil (and Argentina) to mend the fences.

Regional middle powers are critical to maintaining or losing the cohesion of the regional groupings. They are not always as accommodating to the smaller and economically more vulnerable members as they should be for the sake of maintaining a significant degree of unity. However, Third

World states — with the exception of China and India — would be in quite a weak position if they negotiated individually bilateral agreements with the US and the European Union. In international fora, the position of Brazil and South Africa would be weakened in the case of losing their regional groupings.

Thus, even though China and India may rely on their growing economic weight, for governments in the Third World in general it seems crucial, first to recognize the potential dangers of forum-switching as a strategy of the US and the EU. And second, shoring up regional groupings and forging broader alliances would be necessary for maintaining at least a defensive capacity in the politics of forum-shifting, and eventually become a countervailing force.

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup>Whereas the term “bilateral” is self-explaining, “plurilateral” and “multilateral” may need clarification. In international economics, “multilateral” means basically that all countries are included, while “plurilateral” means a particular selection of countries.

<sup>2</sup>Blaas, Becker 2007

<sup>3</sup>In a recent study, Vander Stichele et al. (2006) show how EU trade policy is dominated by corporate power

<sup>4</sup>WTO 2005: §12, Annex C, §7

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# 28

## *External Pressure on Economic Development in Georgia*

*David Lezhava*

Georgia is a small country with a population of 4.4 million located in the South Caucasus. During its whole existence Georgia had to resist invasions of various neighboring or even far located powerful countries. In order to survive Georgia had to search for support from bigger countries that had goals fitting Georgia's interests at a given historical period. Starting from 1801 Georgia appeared under the patronage of the Russia. 200 years of coexistence created strong cultural, political and economic links between the two countries.

Almost every Georgian was reading the world's famous authors in Russian language. Art and cultural achievements became common property of the two nations. Central planned economy created the network of interdependent industries. Vital links in this network between Georgian and Russian industries (as well as with other former



Soviet Union countries) were established based on the decision of the Central Committee of Communist Party, rather than based on economic efficiency. Moscow the capital of Russia (and Soviet Union) ruled Georgia considering it as an integral part of a large empire.

However, Georgia has always considered itself as a separate country that has the right to independence. Several evidences illustrating Georgia's endeavour to be independent can be listed, but it may lead us away from the scope of the paper. The only fact that we can not avoid mentioning is that after the socialist revolution in Russia in 1917 Georgia regained its independence for three years. This period has its great importance not only in the political sense, but it is also an important period for the national identity of Georgia.

### **Georgia's Independence**

After Michael Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union and declared the new values of the well known 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika', in many former Soviet Republic's movement for independence were activated. These activities were not welcomed by conservative and nationalist forces in Russia. Tension between the two countries started to increase. Declaration of independence by the parliament of Georgia was not welcomed in Russia and was recognized only due to international political compulsions. This moment is very much symptomatic for explaining the roots of permanent inefficiency of the dialogue between two countries — Georgia overestimated its independence and Russia underestimated the break-down of USSR.

A brake in the existing economic links between Russia and Georgia along with the civil war going in the country appeared to be crucial for Georgia's economy. In 1992 GDP of the country amounted to only 30 per cent of the GDP of 1988. The country had to start building its economy all over again. Economy started the search for new links. The significant shift from the Russian to the Turkish market was observed.

### **Shevardnadze's Period**

In March of 1992 Eduard Shevardnadze became the head of the State of Georgia. As a former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Shevardnadze was a very experienced politician. He tried to conduct the balanced policy that would be acceptable for Russia and at the same time would be Georgia's national interests.

That is why he was frequently accused by Georgians of being a pro-Russian politician and similarly often times was blamed by Russians to be Western oriented politician and ignoring Russia's interests.

Shevardnadze's rule in Georgia is controversially evaluated by different experts. During this period the country was becoming internationally recognized. United Nations (UN) membership came soon (July 31, 1992) after Shevardnadze started heading Georgia. However this recognition can not be attributed to Eduard Shevardnadze. Among all the former Soviet Countries, Georgia became the last member of UN. Chaos and unbounded armed gangs were slowly dissolved. Corruption became an integral part of the governance system. Shevardnadze secured the international pipeline projects for oil transportation from Azerbaijan to Turkey via Georgia. These projects were the guarantee of stability for transit country. During his rule an estimated 10000 people dies in ethnic wars. The country lost control over two separatist regions — Abkhazeti and Samkhret (south) Oseti. Georgia's integrity even until now remains the main concern of the country.

Towards the end of his rule Shevardnadze's aspiration to keep stability in the country turned into no progress. People didn't see any sign of a better future.

### **“Rose Revolution”**

Shevardnadze's rule ended on November 23, 2003, as a result of the 'Rose Revolution' (frequently named as 'Velvet Revolution'). The choice was made for a more clear political determination. The stagnation period was replaced with the period of aggressive reforms.

Action oriented young generation came into power with leadership of the new president Michael Saakashvili. Georgia openly started to demonstrate its Western oriented policy without paying obeisance to Russia. Certainly Russia disliked such nonchalance from Georgian authority. The political tension increased irreversibly. Public speeches of high level politicians from both countries manifested this trend. However the political tension was not significantly reflected in economic relations until 2006.

### **Developments of 2006**

In Georgian-Russian relations January of 2006 started with increased natural gas prices. 96 per cent of used natural gas in Georgia is imported from Russia. This increase of gas price from USD65 to USD110 per 1000m<sup>3</sup> was clearly bad news for Georgia. However keeping in mind gas international prices and gas price in the region the real surprises not the fact that Russia increased the gas price for Georgia, but that it kept the price at US\$65 until 2006.

In Georgian-Russian relations the spring of 2006 is known for the wine ban. Gennady Onishchenko, Russia's chief health inspector announced Georgian wine and mineral water ban referring to discovered unsafe for health ingredients. In 2005 export of wine and mineral water to Russia had 12.9 per cent share in total Georgian export.

If increase in gas price was accepted by Georgian population and politicians as a reasonable economic step, wine ban smelled as a pure political decision made by Russia aiming to harm Georgia's economy.

On September 27, 2006, Georgian police arrested four Russian military servants accusing them spying. This fact was widely published in media. Georgian authorities did their best to create a lot of noise. One explanation to this noise could be the following:

As it was mentioned earlier two conflict regions of Georgia — Abkhazeti and Samkhret Oseti — are the main pain for the country. De jure these regions are the part of Georgia, de facto they are independent having some influence of Kremlin from Russia. Russian peacekeepers are present in both of these regions. During their presence no significant military conflicts occurred. However, Georgia does not trust Russian military forces to be neutral. The case of spies served as an evidence for showing that Russians are an interested party in the conflict.

One can argue endlessly about how adequate and objective was Georgian Authorities' behavior regarding the spy case, but one thing is clear — Russia did not like the noise created by Georgians. Immediate punishing embargo followed. Russia prohibited any kind of trade (except natural gas so far). There is no direct transportation between the two countries any more, no postal service operates (except courier post).

Russia tried to forbid money transfer to Georgia, but it appeared to be impossible for technical reasons. Businesses in which Georgian citizens have interest are under special control of Russian authorities. After the escalation of the conflict many Georgian citizens were identified to be living illegally in Russia and were deported to the home country. This kind of pressure was supposed to reduce remittances, causing social discontent.

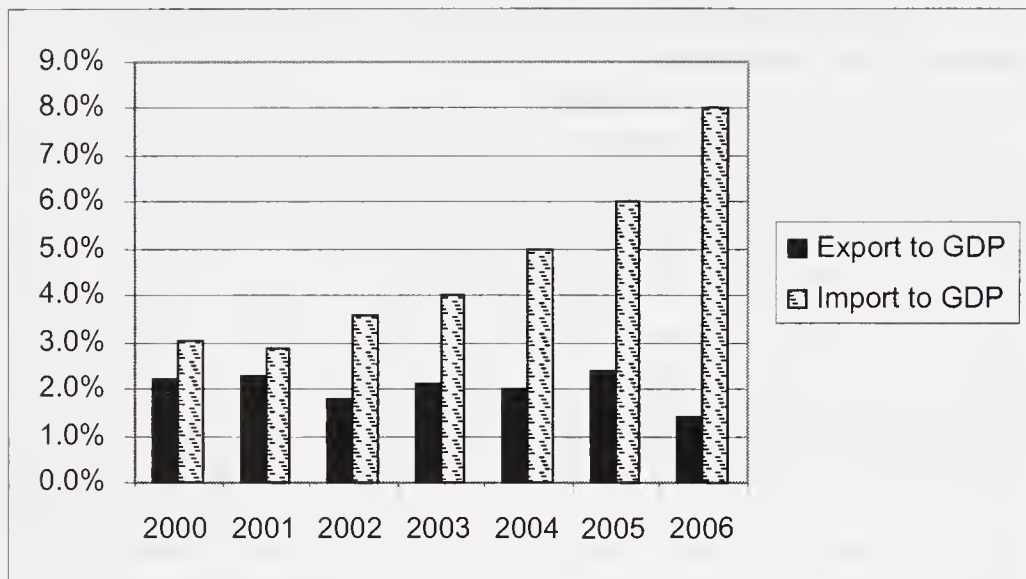
### **Breaking Tight Ties**

All the above mentioned changes were supposed to have significant impact on the small country's economy. Georgia with the modest GDP per capita of USD1416, high unemployment rate (official figure 14% is widely believed to be an underestimate) and 300 thousand internally displaced persons from conflict regions had an economy highly dependant



on relations with Russia. As it can be seen from the figure, trade relations with Russia had a clearly defined increasing trend.

**Figure. 1.**  
**Share of Georgia's trade with Russia as percent of GDP**



17.8 per cent of total Georgian exports were the exports to Russia. 15.4 per cent of total imports (excluding import of natural gas) were import from Russia.

Five hundred thousand Georgians (11% of Georgian population) live in Russia sending remittances to their families. On average remittances from abroad amount to three per cent of household income.

So the influence of economic sanctions was expected to have significant impact. However, things turned out to be not so dramatic. Prohibition of money transfer didn't work at all. Imported goods were replaced with substitutes or roundabout ways were found through the third countries. Exported goods will need time to find new markets, but in the long run the influence shouldn't be significant. According to the calculations of the National Bank of Georgia overall impact of Russian embargo (taking into account expected further increase in gas price in 2007) on GDP of Georgia will be 3.8 per cent in 2007 (see table 1). That is equal to US\$300 million.

It should be mentioned that in current circumstances not only will Georgia carry the losses, but the economy of Russia will also not be producing some goods. If we assume that 50 per cent of Russian export to Georgia will be replaced with third countries' goods, Russian businesses



will need to find new markets for the goods of USD180mln. or sacrifice their production. Due to the political decision we have loss in both countries roughly totaling US\$500 million.

Table 1  
Negative influence on GDP of various factors

Factors	2006	2007
Import (except gas)	0.2-0.3%	0.4-0.5%
Gas Import	-	1.65%
Export	0.80%	1.70%
o/w wine and mineral water	0.60%	1.00%
Total impact	1.10%	3.80%
GDP growth (planned)	8.40%	10.50%
GDP growth (after Russian Embargo)	7.30%	6.70

Democracy is the Only Way Out

Despite the fact that Russia attempted all possible economic leverages to punish Georgia, it is very much likely that Georgia's economy will survive and continue to grow. Russia is using a weapon that can be used only once in a while. Once Georgian economy becomes isolated from the Russian one and Georgia learns to live without any economic relations with Russia, it will be impossible to apply economic pressure any further. The impact of recent developments will be even less conspicuous for the Russian economy. At the end of the day economies of both countries will recover, but we will get two isolated neighbors instead of neighbors with strong cultural and economic links.

Development in Georgian-Russian relations is not favorable for businesses. It is not in the interests of ordinary citizen. If the governments of these two countries were really reflecting the interests of their respective citizens or businesses they would seek for better understanding. In other words democracy inside the countries would secure faster development and better relations between the two countries. Russia is not an example of high democracy. Georgia is also at an early stage in its long way towards democracy. Values that a country respects define to a great extent the language in which it talks to neighbours. Development of democracy can bring positive change in this language.

Of course a country should be free in deciding on an economic partner. But the degree of interdependence is not equal for all the countries. In this respect economic embargo can be considered as an oppression and hence unethical behavior. However, there are no efficient instruments to force the country to be ethical. International community has more serious unsolved problems in the world such as war, terrorism (by the way sometimes the result of various types of oppression), hunger and so on. Hence acceptability of applying economic pressure by a big country towards a small one is not on the priority list of the international communities' agenda today. Meanwhile development of democracy can be considered the only remedy for avoiding economic war.

# 29

## *Globalization and Main Development Tendencies in Post-Cold War World*

*Branislav Zúdel and Zuzana Sládková*

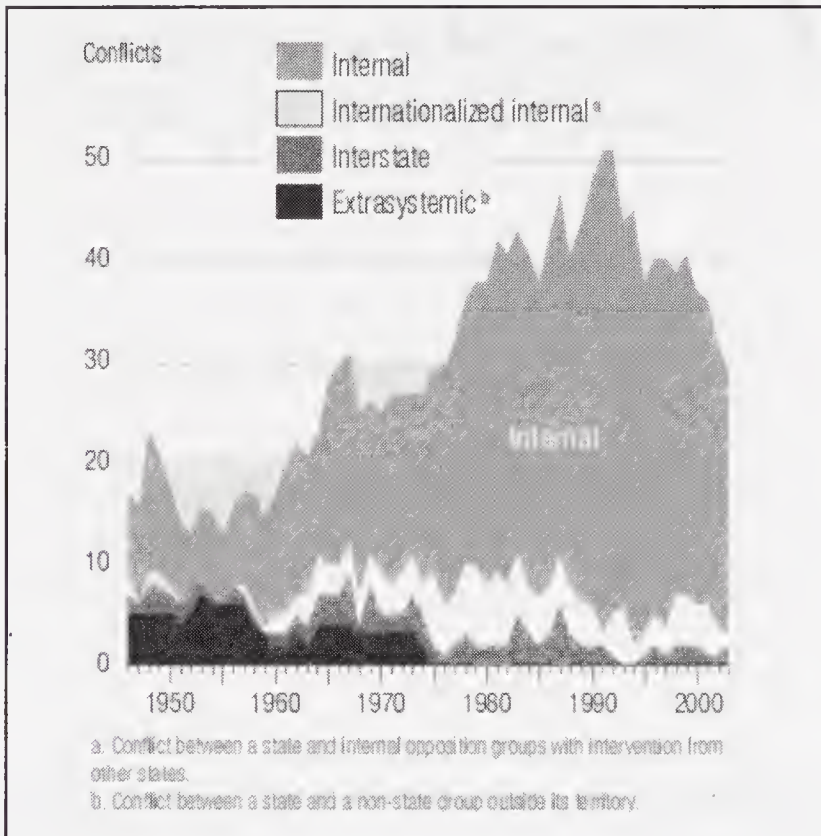
**T**he first globalization effect refers to the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century. It is linked with the first overseas discoveries and with the connection of the rest of the world to the transformation processes in Europe. In the next period of internalization, the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of this process were accelerated and finally in the 20<sup>th</sup> century they became clearly identifiable. During this period the issues of the globalization process have also changed and increased, but in the territorial sense, the most important role is being played by western developed countries, which determines its character<sup>1</sup>. This issue is over time getting complicated.

### **Main Tendencies**

In the opinion of H. Henderson the globalization process has two engines. The first is technology development, which accelerates developing

of new communication techniques. The second is the global liberalization of trade and economy through deregulation and privatization tools and covered in Washington Consensus<sup>2</sup>. These factors took effect in the last decade of the twentieth century and the emerging states and the market started playing an important role.

In last 15 years we can observe another global tendency presented in Human Development Report: Fewer conflicts since 1991:



Source: *Human Development Report 2005* (modified)

However, UNDP also stated “in the post-Cold War era revenues from natural resources have replaced superpower funding as the fuel of war” and “between 1990–2002 the world saw at least 17 such conflicts in which natural resource wealth was a primary factor”.<sup>3</sup>

The crucial fact is that not all the conflicts are products of state failure. Growing interdependency ensures that “external problems are imported through porous human security borders, and they are re-exported as a new security problem for other states”.<sup>4</sup> For example the ethnic cleansing in the Balkans made flows of refugees into Western Europe; the violence in Darfur created refugees in neighbouring Chad. Mega trend of interdependency is narrowing the economic space between states and



when the states collapse, security threats can cross this narrow space with impunity (e.g. boomerang effect of the Afghan proxy war). *Human Development Report* concluded that conflict-prone states pose an immense threat not only to their own citizens, but also to the international community, because they tend to be a place for warlords, criminal networks and extremist groups, seeking to exploit a vacuum of governance<sup>5</sup>.

Globalization of the economic life contributes to fact that many countries in the world are converging not only in the economic sphere, but also in the other social or cultural spheres. The universalizing impact became the source of concern, especially in those parts of the world, where the western values are less acceptable. The social studies indicate that the most important values for the western countries are least important for the rest of the world. Ideas of democracy, human rights, individualism, free market and secularization in the Islamic, Hindu, Confucian, Buddhist or Orthodox cultures are not conventional<sup>6</sup>.

Even though J. Naisbitt notices, that the trends of resistance against the uniformity and homogenization are not contradictory<sup>7</sup>, because, the life style unification forces us more to obey our traditional values — the adoption of basic globalization principles and western values means for some cultures and states to abandon their fundamental identity. As an example Huntington lists Turkey, Mexico, and former states of the Soviet Union<sup>8</sup>. Now there is a question how to involve these countries in the globalization process if they do not want to lose their identity.

### **Alternatives, Paradoxes and Possible Solutions**

The alternative way to prosper from the advantages that globalization brings and at the same time avoid its negatives and preserve primal identity and values could lie in the exploitation of the glocalization approaches. This term was presented by sociologist Roland Robertson and it means the common presence of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies<sup>9</sup>. It represents the connection and exploitation of both global and local approaches with respect to the specific economic, social and cultural environment of the country or region.

At first sight there could be a prediction that globalization will force the world economy to be one big giant consisting of hierarchic structure and central administration. J. Filip is skeptical of global integration. He argues that the regional international economic integration is prevailing, that the disintegrative factors are still effective and that the inner differentiation of economies, states and regions is deepening<sup>10</sup>. J. Naisbitt also makes clear

some counter trends and paradoxes. On the one hand the world economy is heading towards political sovereignty and self-guidance in its small players, who create more and more economic alliances and on the other hand and they all together form a net of small interconnecting, depending and communicating economic subjects. Naisbitt marks some paradoxes:

- The bigger the world economy, the more powerful its smallest players.
- As the world integrates itself, its individual parts are increasing and they become also smaller and more remarkable. The global economy grows, but the proportions of its parts are minimizing. The growth of the small economic subjects is proportional to the growth of the world economy power.
- Electronics help tribalization on the one hand and globalization on the other hand thus creating stability.
- Idea, that the central government is the most important part of the governance is obsolete. People are in the post-representative democracy phase representing themselves and finally everyone becomes a politician<sup>11</sup>.

Along with the globalization tendencies there are presented also the alternative tendencies — localization, fragmentation, tribalization. The developing predictions of both tendencies are the telecommunication technologies<sup>12</sup>. L. Lysák pronounced the opinion that globalization is a “continuity of the integration and internalization processes in the economic and social sphere, as well as in the other spheres of human activity from local and regional dimension to the worldwide global dimension”.<sup>13</sup> J. Stiglitz and A. Sen notice, that globalization critique is basically not aimed at the globalization, but it is aimed at the execution form and trends, which dominate in this process and which have no democratic basis<sup>14</sup>.

### **New Regionalism**

One of the dominating trends of world economy development is also “the new regionalism” (neo-regionalism) that is based on the treaty of integration. The main cause of the origin of new regionalism origin is basically the globalization and its contradictory tendencies — internalization and fragmentation. In the new regionalism the regional economies are more opened for the globalization tendencies<sup>15</sup>.

In the world economy there are three dominating regional economic groups — the economic triad:

- **The European economic region:** European Union (EU) with 450 millions consumers, with the opportunity to cooperate in Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area (EMFTA) and with Middle East countries.
- **The North American region:** USA (NAFTA) with approximately 440 millions consumers, with opportunity to integrate the whole American continent.
- **Japan:** (ASEAN +3 free trade areas) with 130 millions consumers.

According to the US political and military dominance, according to the economic triad and other regionalization tendencies especially in China, India and Russia L. Lysák concluded, that today there are three types of a world order: unipolar, triapolar, and multipolar. And just the “multipolar world has the best perspective for the bigger opportunity to create a profit from globalization for all of us”.<sup>16</sup>

The new regionalism tendencies are antagonistic and full of contradictions. On the one hand, there is a vision of regionalism on the basis of WTO on the other hand the unsuccessful WTO meetings have become an incentive to create new regional agreements. The national states or regions also initiate and strengthen the regionalism tendencies, and their effort to keep up their economic, political power and competitiveness or effort to strengthen their positions in global economic environment leads to creation of new regions.

In this matter P. Drucker notices, that regionalism (and globalization) and also tribalism or localization have a tendency to weaken the national state and to doubt its sovereignty. Regionalism makes it from the outer environment, localization from the inside. Drucker warns against creation of a mega state, he also warns against creation of the ethnic tribal communities on the other hand and refers to examples of balkanization, Palestine and Chechnya. In Drucke's opinion globalization, regionalism and tribalism quickly creates a new political structure that has no tradition.<sup>17</sup> It is necessary to add, that even the creation of some national states has no support in a tradition and the state frontiers were many times delimited artificially.

## Concluding remarks

In the last 15 years globalization and the growing interdependency has caused not only rapid economic development in emerging states, but also fewer conflicts. However, conflicts are today more prone to expand states borders and look for vacuum of governance. Another tendency is

homogenization (unification), or penetration of the western values into other regions of the world which cause with tribalization and fragmentation discrepancies while the most important values for the western countries are least important for the rest of the world. Possible solutions ensuring benefits for the majority may arise from the glocalization approach, global integration or creation of world governance, or multipolar world. One of the most important trends today is new regionalism, the antagonistic tendency creating new economic blocks and weakening national state doubting its sovereignty.

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup>Balá , P. a kol.: Medzinárodné podnikanie. Bratislava: Jamex, 2001, p. 371

<sup>2</sup>Henderson, H.: Za horizontem globalizace. Praha: DharmaGaia, 2001, p. 7

<sup>3</sup>Human Development Report 2005, p. 166

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 167

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 168

<sup>6</sup>Huntington, S. P.: The Clash of Civilizations. <http://www.alamut.com/subj/economics/misc/clash.html>, 15. 10. 2006

<sup>7</sup>Balá a kol.: Medzinárodné podnikanie. Bratislava: Jamex, 2001, p. 373

<sup>8</sup>Huntington, S. P.: The Clash of Civilizations. <http://www.alamut.com/subj/economics/misc/clash.html>, 15. 10. 2006

<sup>9</sup>Glocalisation. <http://hypertext.rmit.edu.au/~crosbie/wp/index.php?p=130>, 15. 10. 2006

<sup>10</sup>Filip, J.: Základy svetovej ekonomiky. as I. Bratislava: Ekonóm, 2005, p. 188-190

<sup>11</sup>Klinec, I.: Na prahu civilizácie Tretej vlny. Bratislava: IRIS, 2003, p. 109-110

<sup>12</sup>Ibid. p. 111-112

<sup>13</sup>Lysák, L.: Globalizácia verzus glokalizácia. In: Ekonomický časopis, ro . 51, 2003, . 8, p. 932

<sup>14</sup>Ibid. p. 934-935

<sup>15</sup>Rosenberg a kol.: Vojnové tendencie svetového hospodárstva. as III. B. Bratislava: Ekonóm, 2002, p. 230

<sup>16</sup>Lysák, L.: Globalizácia verzus glokalizácia. In: Ekonomický časopis, ro . 51, 2003, . 8, p. 939-940

<sup>17</sup>Drucker, P.: Fungující společnost. Vybrané eseje o společnosti a politickém systému. Praha: Management Press, 2004, p. 73-86

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*Globalization, Development  
and Peace*

*Sucha Singh Gill*

*I* am extremely grateful to CRRID for inviting me to participate in the very important event which is devoted to the memory of great P. N. Haksar. I would like to speak on the issue of globalization, development and peace.

As you know that development is an on going process. Some of the recent developments are encouraging as well as disturbing. If you look at the whole post Second World War era upto 1991, a movement was going on in developing world for independent national development — and we are aware of this fact, how their prosperity was ultimately scuttled. It was stated by developing countries that their underdevelopment has been caused by their colonial past and they have been plundered and exploited by imperialistic countries.

So, the developed countries must take up the responsibility of providing them some concessional aids and grants for development. In fact it was committed that one percent of GDP of advanced countries must be given to the developing countries as development aid. Except for one or two countries no advanced country complied with that. Subsequently New International Economic Order (NIEO) was passed in 1974. The agenda of World Trade Organization (WTO), which has come up in the wake of globalization era, is diametrically opposed to the agenda of NIEO.

The agenda of WTO and the agenda of the present face of globalization came up in a situation when there was a collapse of Soviet Union and emergence of unipolar world, US emerged as a sole super power and there was also a collapse of non-aligned movement. Consequently, whatever has been achieved in the name of globalization is basically the implementation of what is known as Washington Consensus. Washington Consensus represents consensus evolved by IMF, World Bank and US Treasury.

When finally the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was to be signed in December 1994, there was a fear that this round of negotiation, would collapse. Everyone knows that developing countries including India, were forced to sign these agreements, and all kinds of threats and manipulation were used for that. This is the reason that unequal treaty and unequal set of rules have been established under WTO.

I would like to bring all this to your kind notice because it is very important for global peace and development. Now, there has been complete freedom for movement of capital across the world. Capital from one country can go to any other country in the world, which is unequal world since advanced countries have lot of surplus capital. The 20 per cent of the world's population accounts for more than the 60 per cent of world's GDP. So, they have lot of surplus capital with limited channels of investment in their own countries. And there has been complete freedom for them to invest in developing countries.

The global economy has been transformed to service economy. There has been a lot of pressure that service economy should be opened up globally, so that there is a complete freedom for capital to move from one part of the world to any other part of world. And this movement is generally from advanced countries to the developing countries. There are few exceptions where you see that Tatas are going to Europe but generally the movement of the capital is from advanced countries to developing countries to capture their market, to capture their resources and particularly the scarce resources, whether it is a petroleum or the drinking water.

Therefore, there has been complete freedom for the movement of capital but there is restriction or considerably increased restriction on the movement of labour. It is the developing countries which have surplus of labour. We can export large quantity of labour from this country but where can it go? And who will allow this labour to enter, except for highly skilled workforce who goes under H1 visa to the US, where the Indians have built the Silicon Valley. But what about the peasants who are being thrown out of agriculture? Where will they go? They have no place to go. No one will allow them to come. So, in that sense it has been an uneven kind of treaty which has been forced upon the developing countries. Developing countries are always looking for the opportunity to reversal for this kind of treaty.

Second area, which has been area of concern, is related to intellectual property rights. Except for copyrights, there were the national rights. Now, all kinds of research have been put under the ambit of patents—whether it is a research in the field of agriculture or industry. There is uniform patent pattern system which has been imposed upon the countries and the life of the patents has been raised to 20 years or more. And thereby the technology can come to you but it cannot come very easily. Prof. Chadha was talking about what is being cooked in my neighbors' kitchen; the smell will come to me. But smell can cause a lot of agony to me also if I am deprived of that kind of food.

The technology has been invented and you know that the major parts of the patents are being made in European Union and US. Other countries have to get patented technology where the lifetime is 20 years or more. Either you have to be backward for 20 years or you have to pay very high amount of royalty and technical fee to get that technology. So, free flow of technology which was been talked in the form of problems related to transfer of technology, has been blocked. Had there not been free flow of technology in the form of the wheat seed, which we brought from Mexico or the rice seed which came from Manila, there would not have been a green revolution in this country. This kind of free flow is missing.

Now we have produced large quantity of kennow here in this region and this crop matures quickly— within two months. When crop comes up prices fall. So, if there is a bumper crop farmers lose, if there is a bad crop farmers lose. They lose because there is no processing technology in this region. The technology exists globally but the state has no means to buy the technology. As a result, the crop is rotting when there is a glut in market. So, intellectual property rights (IPRs) is another area where there is a problem.



Third area of concern has been agriculture. You know that some kind of discipline has been imposed on the developing countries. The way they want to develop the agriculture that has to be synchronized with international agreement and one of the situations is that you cannot give subsidy beyond a limit—ten percent of the values of produce in developing countries and five per cent the value of produce in advanced countries—but no advanced country has complied with that. The export subsidy is not permitted in WTO but still they are continuing. They have shifted subsidies from the amber box to green box and the blue box. The quantum of the subsidy has been increased. Consequently what has happened, the volatility in the prices of agricultural commodities has increased. Wheat price was Rupees 400 per quintal two years back in the international market, now we are getting at Rupees 1200 per quintal. The volatility in prices has gone up and that harms the interest of developing countries.

Look at what has happened to agriculture. We are happy to declare that Indian economy has also become a service economy so far as share in GDP is concerned. Now share of agriculture has gone down to less than 20 per cent. But what about share of population dependent on agriculture? That still remains around 60 per cent. So, if 60 per cent of population is getting 20 per cent of income and remaining 40 per cent of population is getting 80 per cent of income, then look at the agony which this kind of globalization has caused. In Indian situations there are the reports from the Home Ministry that one lakh members of the families from the rural areas committed suicides between 1997 to 2002. And most of the suicides have been committed in the cotton belt. What happened was that when crop was failing; the price of crop was also falling. Farmers suffered on two counts—first the output declined and secondly prices fell. Prices fell because there was unrestricted import of raw cotton from abroad.

Consequently agriculture faced a serious problem. The whole of sub-Saharan Africa suffered because Washington consensus was tried there, first. They were told to go for diversification of crops and to produce such fruits and vegetables, which have a demand in international market. The whole of Sub-Saharan Africa is suffering from deficiency of food and they are fighting with each other on the food issue. Therefore, a kind of situation has arisen where it has created food scarcity in several parts of the world. This is one thing which we must take note of that present globalization has brought prosperity for some sections of population but the large remaining populace are affected badly.

In Indian situation itself, the 2003 survey of NSSO brings out that 42 per cent of farmers do not like farming. And why they do not like farming?

They say that farming is not remunerative. It is not profitable—it is a losing exercise. During 12 years period of the globalized economy (1991 to 2003), 4.2 million farm households have been evicted from the farming. This comes out to be more than four per cent of the 89 million farming households. In this country farmers are being thrown out of agriculture. Where they will go? They can go to service economy; they can go to industrial economy provided they have the skills to go. But farmers in our country are illiterate; they have no other skill except farming. So, they are being thrown out and they have no places to go and get absorbed. With such kind of households which are facing redundancy in their occupation or redundancy in skill, can there be a peaceful economy? Can there be a peaceful society? If they have no worth for themselves and globalization which has brought prosperity for 20 per cent of the population and it has brought this kind of situation for 80 per cent of the population. That is why the ruling classes in the developing countries and developed countries have joined hands at the international level. There is an alliance of the rich against the poor. Ordinary people are losing their social security covers.

So, globalization in the present form, which I call the capitalist globalization, benefits the top layers of population. It will create inequality in the share of the income of the bottom and the top section of population. Then I want to point out two other things what this globalization has done in our country. During the era of globalization there has been lot of stress on fiscal resources. It is mentioned that fiscal deficit should be controlled and to control the fiscal deficit the Union Government and state governments have cut down expenditure on health and education. Though in the national common minimum program, it is put that 6 per cent of the GDP will be spent for education; it is around three per cent. What has happened to health and education in the rural areas? These two sectors totally collapsed.

We have done two surveys in Punjab which is one of the prosperous states of the country. The study revealed that 76 per cent students in rural areas study in the government schools or government aided schools. The situation in these schools is very sad. In these schools there are either no teachers or no buildings. The annual fee in the government schools is Rs. 500/-, which is affordable by ordinary citizen. In the private schools, the fee starts from Rs. 5000/- and go upto Rs. 15,000 per year. This is beyond the affordability of 70 to 80 per cent of the population. There have come into existence schools-for-haves and for have-nots. In the school for have nots, 20-30 per cent of the teacher's posts are lying vacant. Some primary schools, have to manage five classes with one teacher. They can't teach, but they can just make them sit there. Twenty per cent of the schools have no toilets, and

large numbers of the schools do not have the boundary walls. So, education has collapsed in the rural areas.

Health has also collapsed in the rural areas. Investigations revealed that another reason which push the farmers to commit suicide apart from economic deprivation was brought by failure of the cotton crop, is that some of their family member who fell ill and went to private nursing home or the doctors for treatment, for which they had to borrow money, had put them in the debt trap.

The failure on the front of education and health has caused a lot of agony in rural areas of this country and the farmers were being thrown out of the agriculture. They have no skill; their children have no skill. They cannot be absorbed in the modern emerging service and industrial sector. This kind of situation has created a very serious problem which I want to bring to the notice of this learned house. A survey was conducted by us at Punjabi University to find out from where the students in the universities, highest seats of learning, are coming. We were interested in locating the rural students in the universities. In fact our Vice- Chancellor was very enthusiastic that at least five per cent the seats for students should be reserved for those hailing from rural areas. So we commissioned a survey and we covered all university campuses of the state. What we discovered was that only four per cent of those students who have done their five years of schooling in the villages and whose parents were living in the villages when they passed matriculation or + 2 level examination were studying on the university campus. If you go to the engineering colleges, or medical colleges, this proportion falls further.

A kind of revolution in the service sector and globalization was significantly associated with the IT industry. It is benefiting the upper and middle class of this country. It is completely by-passing rural areas where 26 per cent of the population is to below poverty line and another 26 per cent lives close to poverty line.

I would say 80 per cent of the population is being by-passed by this kind of development. Now, I want to raise a question that if there is growth at the rate of eight per cent and 20 per cent of the population has gained and 80 per cent is not getting any gains, can there be a peace in the country? My answer is No.

In fact there is a conflict of interest and the only way to resolve the conflict of interest is to make people as partners in economic development. If you don't make them partners in development and you try to by-pass them in the developmental process, they have no interest in such a kind of development. And this is the point where peace is disturbed and this is what



the present model of the globalization's trying to do. It is increasing differences between advanced countries and developing countries.

Within the advanced countries it is bringing increase in difference between common person and the income of the corporate sector. In the developing countries, it is increasing difference between the rich section of the society and the poor section of the society. It is increasing difference between backward region and advanced regions. Take Bihar, in our own country, is staying where it was, and look at Maharashtra where it has gone. It has a booming economy. Therefore, once you have such kind of situation you can't avoid Bihar in any part of the country. Wherever you go, you will find Bihari labourers. Whenever you go to the small business people, they are of Bihar origin.

If you want to have a unified economy, you must have a balanced development and people must have equitable share to the development process. If present model is capable of giving it, I will support it. But evidence which has come up so far, shows that it is bypassing a large section of society. Now only a few from the rural areas can even think of reaching at the college level. I believe that this has disrupted the process of nation building; this has disrupted the process of peace building in society.

Lastly, one will like to talk about peace in Punjab. We have been suffering a lot. In spite of very high level of economic development, we could not complete the process of transition because industrialization could not take place in this region. And no industrialist had ever shown interest in making investment in this region.

Primarily, the reason was we are a border state and we had a volatile border. Punjab remained a disturbing State when India was at war with Pakistan in 1948, 1965, and 1971 and then during the Kargil war in 1999. There was army on the both sides of the border and this border remained hot. If this border remains hot, Punjab continues to suffer in terms of development and we want this border to be calm, quiet and peaceful. We want very cordial relations with Pakistan. We want Wagah Hussainiwale border to be opened. If Pakistan market is opened up, that border will become peaceful, we can cross and they can come here. There can be more development in state.

We have an interest in building peace in this region. We are interested a soft border. Therefore, I would like to appeal that we should work for building a peaceful world and peaceful world cannot be raised unless it is equitable.



**SECTION VII**  
*Gender Dimensions of  
Peace and Development*



# 31

## *Denial of Rights and Justice: Indigenous Women in Bangladesh*

*Sadeka Halim*

*I*n the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) region in southeastern Bangladesh, the situation of violation of human rights of women was especially bad during the internal conflict (1973-1997) that saw government security forces fighting a guerilla army composed of indigenous people from the CHT. In some respects, it could be regarded as an “ethnic” conflict, since the combatants were generally divided along ethnic lines, with the government forces being composed of ethnic Bengalis, while the guerillas were of indigenous or “*Pahari*” origin. This period coincided with heavy militarisation of the area, population transfer (1979-1984) of landless Bengali peasants into the region, and ethnic riots putting indigenous people against Bengali settlers. Since women (and especially women from indigenous groups) constituted the most vulnerable section

of the population, they suffered in ways that did not affect the men; including rape, molestation and sexual harassment. In situations of conflict and oppression, it is usually women who bear the worst impact. The CHT was no exception to this. The indigenous women suffered, both as women, and as members of a minority group. Many of these incidents have been documented by international human rights organizations, including Amnesty International. Quite apart from this, CHT women are also subjected to other incidents of violation of their rights, including domestic violence, sexual and verbal harassment by Bengali settlers and security personnel, displacement by various “development” programmes, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Section I provides a theoretical premise to locate women's relationship to human rights and development. This section points out that violence is gendered and that in order to secure justice for the violation of human rights of women, it is necessary that women are able to participate in an effective manner in major decision-making processes, in particular in the CHT peace process. Section II discusses the approaches used in Bangladesh to involve women in development activities and shows how these mainstream approaches have so far failed to recognize indigenous women as potential partners in the development process. Section III depicts indigenous women's situation in the human rights context in the CHT. It analyses the CHT Accord of 1997 and shows how the peace process in the region has bypassed and excluded the women. It describes the insecurity experienced by the indigenous women, the consequences of violence on indigenous women; resistance by women against oppression. It also analyses how the CHT laws and the national constitution have addressed indigenous women's issues and how international human rights mechanisms have failed to protect indigenous women. The paper then analyses how civil society; political leaders and women leaders would like to ensure justice for indigenous women. Finally, the study calls for overall indigenous women's socio-economic and political transformation, including the need to design — in a fully democratic, participatory and degendered manner — indigenous-specific human rights mechanisms at local and national levels, along with appropriate development frameworks.

## Section I

### Theoretical Perspectives

**Human Rights and Development :** These days the common slogans invoked by development practitioners includes “War against Terrorism”



and "War against Poverty". However, it needs to be considered whether these 'wars' — against terrorism and poverty — can be waged to any effective degree without linking democracy to human rights, peace and development. In the early 1990s the topic of women and peace was mainly discussed in the context of political participation of women, particularly in decision-making processes. This was because, it was argued that if the women, the poor, the minorities and indigenous peoples remain excluded from decision-making, development would not be pursued from the right perspective. In a differentiated society where some individuals and social groups remain or become marginalized through the denial of their dignity and self-fulfillment, and are deprived of those minimum taken-for-granted essentials for modern-day life, the resultant phenomenon may be called social exclusion. Women's social exclusion may be a result of systematic discrimination or just the associated phenomenon of the larger social process marked by inequality. This can be found at the level of culture, politics, economy, family or community.<sup>3</sup>

Feminist scholarship has challenged the marginalization and exclusion of women in peace building. From the point of view of democratization, the question that is often asked is, can those countries in which women are drastically ignored and tortured be called democratic? The human rights dimension of democracy also encompasses the relation between majority rule and the protection of minorities, referring to that section of the citizenry, who are different in terms of race, ethnicity, colour, religion or sex, political, social and cultural affiliation, or due to disability, way of life and sexual orientation. This aspect of democracy is significant for women since men have historically created all existing political structures, while systematically leaving the women out (Skjelsbaek and Smith, 2001). The rights perspective argues that it can ensure that the voices of the minority, poor and other marginalized groups are heard, by recognizing their entitlement to equal rights, so that all sections of the citizens can equally hold their government accountable for their human rights obligations. Adopting such an approach means that development programmes should be guided by the content of the rights approach. Particular attention needs to be provided to those who are currently denied their rights (Earle, 2001: 21).

**Violence and Peace:** Women's enjoyment of peace is violated through various forms of violence against them. This is linked with the fact that gender is embedded in relations of power /powerlessness, and therefore, various forms of violence are necessarily gendered. Not only is power gendered, but it is usually associated with male authority. Violence against

women occurs both in public and private spheres. Politics encouraging women's activism for 'peace with justice' or 'against war and militarism' are generally gender-specific, but they are not uniform. Some stress women's nurturing role, others talk about "mother politics" in the belief that women have more comprehensive notions of peace. This, however, limits women's contributions to peace to their roles as mothers, and is reductionist, limiting, and misleading, and hence rejected (Cockburn, 2001). On the contrary, it has been argued that women should have a voice in peace building because violence against women is not only the manifestation of gender inequality and discrimination against women but that it unearths the unequal power relations in society. This calls for equal rights of women with men to participate in politics and in decision making in national and in international levels (Gieryczm, 2001;20) to ensure women's well being.

Security studies (Browmiller, 1975; MacKinnon, 1989; Pettman, 1996) have begun to address gender-specific issues, including mass rape. They have distinguished between wartime rape and peacetime rape. Wartime rape is regarded as a threat to a nation. Wartime rape or mass rape is set aside from normal peacetime rape. Peacetime rape is treated as a crime that should of course be prosecuted but is generally not considered as a collective security problem. However, distinguishing wartime and peacetime rape leads to different consequences for women. The responsibility for avoiding peacetime rape falls with the individual woman who should prevent herself from getting raped by behaving in a particular manner to avoid being sexually non-provoking, avoiding desolate places, and so on. Further, seeing peacetime rape as an individual problem leads one to construct the female subject in sexual terms: rape is a sexual crime and the raped woman's sexual history therefore is considered as admissible evidence in many cases. (Hansen, 2001:59)

Further, there is a cultural significance of raping 'enemy women' - especially women of a different race, religion or political affiliation. Rape committed during sectarian conflicts is aimed at mostly ethnic cleansing, for example, as was done in Bosnia. It is assumed that approximately 20,000 Bosnian women were raped – and the inability of Bosnian men to safeguard their women was part of Serbian attempts to constitute the entire Bosnian nation as humiliated, inferior, weak and feminine. However, the precise construction of this nationalized-gendered subject, and its implications, were by no means unchallenged (Hansen, 2001:56-57). This aspect of rape is particularly designed to drive women from their homes and/or destroy their possibility of reproducing within and for their community. This

further depicts the instrumental use of women in the struggle for power (Turshen, 2001)

It is in the light of the above theoretical perspective that this paper particularly examines the nature and pattern of violation of human rights of women in the CHT during insurgency and particularly in the postaccord situation.

## Section II

### Women and Development: Context Bangladesh

In Bangladesh, with regard to women's involvement in development, two major approaches are employed, namely, WID (Women in Development) and GAD (Gender and Development). However, since the late 1980s there has been a shift from WID to GAD. WID encountered criticisms, particularly from scholars and activists in developing countries. DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era), a Southern Women's organization, critiqued WID as a patriarchal western model of development. DAWN advocates the empowerment approach. DAWN demands the transformation of the structures of subordination that are inimical to women. DAWN envisages changes in the law, civil codes, systems of property rights, control over women's bodies and other related matters in order to attain justice for women (Moser, 1993:76). GAD follows the empowerment approach and emphasizes on the redistribution of power internally and internationally, so that poor women can participate in controlling and influencing the directions in which development occurs (Parpart, 1995: 38). It has been argued that the adoption of the empowerment approach by GAD is a viable alternative to the 'top-down' strategies adopted by WID, which were still moulded within a patriarchal framework. It enables the development agencies to understand the specificities of women's life in the developing countries. WID aimed at incorporating women's participation to make development more effective the goal of GAD is "not only to integrate women into development, but look for the potential in development initiatives to transform unequal social/gender relations and to empower women," (my italics), (Canadian Council for International Cooperation; in Braidotti et al. 1994: 82).<sup>4</sup>

The NPAW (National Policies on the Advancement of Women) in Bangladesh formulated in 1997, following the United Nation's Beijing Women's Conference, directly involved activists and thinkers in the



process. In 2004, the government had surreptitiously changed the NPAW, thereby negating or diluting some of its crucial equality principles. The 1997 policy had a unique context, as it was in continuity with the process initiated during the preparatory stage of the Beijing Conference. The original policy reflected the goals of the women's movement and was in tune with CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women) and as mentioned in Bangladesh Constitution. The 1997 policy had 104 principles, grouped into 14 areas of concern. The new policy removes two principles and changes others in a way that makes them self-contradictory. Women's economic participation and rights see crucial changes in six principles. These dropped provisions include equal opportunity or equal share in property or assets; and strike out inheritance, property or assets, and land rights from a list of prerequisites for women's economic empowerment. Of the special provisions that were mandatory for institutions employing large numbers of women, housing has been dropped. Many are of the opinion that the new policy contradicts the government's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and its strategy for meeting those.<sup>5</sup>

In a context like this, where Bangladesh ideologically agrees to gender equality but shies away from implementing it in real sense of the term, it is vital that initiatives in different economic sectors that employ and benefit women, like indigenous women, are taken at policy levels that intentionally, carefully and positively incorporate gender equality to ensure women's fair share in society.

**Indigenous Women and Development:** Rather than addressing indigenous women's specific problems, NPAW many of the government policies on women aim at the atypical cases of discrimination faced by ethnic Bengali women in the plains. The state-sponsored development programmes in the CHT region remain largely WID-based welfare-oriented, and sometimes implemented at the cost of basic rights. They seem to have done little to bring about any favourable changes in indigenous women's lives. These welfare programmes have generally ignored indigenous women's productive role in the economy. Indigenous women, through their traditional role as de facto managers of the rural household, have the most intricate knowledge about forest food items, their nutritional value and herbal medicinal plants. The degradation of natural forests results not only in the extinction of many plants, but also in loss of indigenous women's knowledge of their natural resources, along with the increased burden of having to fetch water and gather food items from places that are farther and farther removed from their homes. Thus the impact of



deforestation on indigenous women is not only upon their knowledge systems, economic well-being and health, but on their status in society (Halim, 2002). Unfortunately, women's issues and natural resource issues are viewed as separate problems. From the environmental perspective, sustainable development emphasizes the prevention of pollution and environment degradation with a concern to contain economic and environmental costs. From the gender point of view, making people and their well being the objective requires that women be both agents and beneficiaries of the development process and social change (Roy and Halim, 2001:29). Observation in the CHT reveals that women have crucial roles in natural resource management. However it is rare for women to be considered full participants in natural resource regeneration and protection programmes, with some local NGOs such as Taungya providing the only exceptions to this (Halim and Roy, 2007).

The other important matter of concern is that the social and cultural contexts of the various indigenous communities are very different from mainstream Bengali society, and that many of the existing laws and policies on resource management and other related spheres are also not appropriate to prevent discrimination against indigenous women. It is usually non-indigenous women's organizations and other development organizations that take up development issues like health issues related to reproductive health, violence against women, educational programmes, natural resource management programmes and land rights. Non-indigenous organizations and policy makers incorporate all these issues without a specific approach to the issues confronting indigenous women, who often face triple discrimination as women, as indigenous and often as the poor as well.

### Section III

#### Human Rights Violation and Indigenous Women

The research findings<sup>6</sup> depict that indigenous women, like their fellow sisters in the plains, are subjected to various forms of violence, including rape. However, due to their different cultural and religious heritage, indigenous women are not encountering dowry and fatwa-related violence unlike their Bengali, and Bengali muslim, counterparts, respectively. For centuries, the Indigenous people have been deprived of their fundamental rights. However, indigenous women are more marginalized because of gender, ethnicity and class. There are reportedly more than 50 indigenous groups in Bangladesh and 11 peoples are in the

CHT (Roy, 2006). These groups have diverse customs, cultures and religions. The findings further reveal that the Government of Bangladesh, civil society, political leaders and other concerned institutions in the CHT have not played an effective role to provide justice to the indigenous women of the CHT.

**The CHT Accord of 1997 :** The 1997 Accord, which brought to an end more than twenty years of insurgency in the CHT between the Government of Bangladesh and the PCJSS, (*Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samity*) was welcomed by many within Bangladesh and abroad. The major provisions of the Accord included the following: (i) the handing over of weapons by JSS fighters; (ii) dismantling of military camps; (iii) rehabilitation of JSS fighters; (v) rehabilitation of the international refugees and internally displaced people; (vi) recognition of cultural integrity of the indigenous (officially “tribal”) peoples of the CHT; and (vi) the resolution of land-related problems (Roy, 2000). Only the part on weapons handing over seems to have been implemented fully. The other provisions have only been partially implemented, while the provisions on the resolution of land disputes remains totally unimplemented.

It could be said that political, economic and social security was among the major demands of the Hill people. As regards political rights, the hill people demanded legislative and administrative autonomy. In the economic sphere, they sought control and formal ownership over the natural resources of the region; as for their socio-cultural integrity, they sought to de-militarize the heavily militarized CHT. Substantively, the Accord is yet to have succeeded in meeting the major demands of the hill people, but it has succeeded in bringing to an end the more than two decades-old of armed insurgency in the region (Mohsin, 2003:49). The 1997 Accord was not, however, welcomed or accepted by all in the CHT. The “anti-Accordists” — consisting largely of members of the United People’s Democratic Front (UPDF) — has opposed the Accord and pledged to carry out the movement for “full autonomy”. Indigenous society in CHT is divided, in terms of these two political lines, which is having adverse impacts on social development through education and so forth (Roy, 2003:19).

**Indigenous Women and 1997 CHT Accord:** In both the traditional and the state-structured socio-political structures, indigenous women are often excluded from roles of political leadership. The accord has been termed as a gendered agreement (Mohsin, 2003:53). Many hill women worked and risked their lives as informants, and got molested, abused and raped by the military. Despite adverse situations, the hill women played a very

important role in the struggle during that period. The women extended their active support and cooperation especially in terms of disseminating information and carrying letters and other secret documents for the fighters. Besides, delivering food, nursing at times of illness, produced cloth for free of cost etc. During that period if a non-combatant hill man carried a big bag or such luggage then he was suspected, let alone the persons actually involved with the struggle. Therefore the hill women used to make small 'jhola' (bag) for the men. The women only provided all such help (Umey Mong, Woman Leader, CHT) (Halim et al, 2005).

Many women resisted various oppressive state and military actions, a case in point being Kalpana Chakma, organizing secretary of the Hill Women's Federation (HWF), which had been demanding the right to self-determination for the hill people under the rubric of Jumma nationalism. She was abducted on 12 June, 1996 from her home, allegedly by government security personnel, and was never heard of again. However, the Accord makes no reference to the human rights violations committed in the CHT.

Various roles played by indigenous women during the insurgency period were neither nationally rewarded nor received any formal recognition from their own communities; There is no provision for providing compensation to the affected women of violence nor is there any mention of rehabilitation or counseling of the raped women. (Halim et al, 2005) Furthermore, Bangladesh is a signatory to the International Criminal Court (ICC) convention and declares rape as a crime against humanity. Moreover, the Government of Bangladesh has officially demanded an apology from Pakistan for the human rights violations, and particularly for rape committed against Bengali women by the Pakistani military during the independence war of 1971 (Mohsin, 2003:55). Thus the absence of provisions on this aspect of human rights seems to be at odds with the Government of Bangladesh's international face on human rights.

Although many political leaders informally acknowledged the Hill women's important role during the insurgency; they never formally recognized this role. Thus the masculinist perception in terms of recognizing indigenous women's role is further reflected to a certain extent in the composition of the interim Regional Council (RC) of the CHT; only three out of the 22 members are women and their impact on decision-making is yet not felt strongly. While in the case of the interim hill district councils, not one of the 6 members of each district council is a woman, barring the chairperson of the Bandarban Hill District Council (Halim, 2002; Halim, 2003).



**Insecurity of Indigenous Women:** The suffering of the Hill people actually dates back to the creation of Bangladesh in 1971. The formation of Bangladesh had a traumatizing impact on the Hill people. Moreover, during that period thousands of Hill people were still suffering from the legacies of dislocation caused by the establishment of Kaptai Dam. After independence, the Hill people were accused of supporting Pakistan, which led to further reprisals from the Bengalis (Malanes, 2000: 67).

In the early 70s, the armed insurgency in the Hill Districts affected indigenous women in various ways. The hostile environment affected their daily activities like collecting fuel, fodder, looking after children etc. The conflictual situation caused many indigenous women, men and children to flee to India, and a similarly large number to be displaced internally. Many indigenous families became separated and the number of women-headed households rose. For those women who were left without adult male members, the public and private dichotomy did not exist any more. Many of these women had to take their responsibilities on to the public sphere, which was traditionally considered a man's sphere that was traditionally off-limits to women. These women were in a constant struggle, juggling between the household responsibilities and protecting themselves and their families from the ongoing war. Those indigenous girls who were in school had to drop a year or two. Village schools were especially affected as the military used many schoolhouses as camps (Guhathakurta, 2000; Halim et al 2005:21).

It has been reported that during the insurgency period many indigenous women of the CHT were raped (Guharthakurta, 2000; Malanes, 2000; Mohsin, 2002). As pointed out by Mohsin (2002), rape has been used as an instrument of war against the purity and authenticity of indigenous identity. Indigenous women were targeted because they were regarded as the biological bearers of their peoples and communities. Similar evidence has been reported in terms of violence committed against indigenous and minority women in Burma, where state-sanctioned violence is one of the most serious threats towards women's well being, especially in the indigenous peoples' areas. This violence is directed at the population at large, as with forced labour, forced relocation, and also directed specifically at women. Humiliation of and violence against women has been documented repeatedly as a tool used to terrorize communities (Stothard, 2000:29).

Militarization, which still continues in the CHT, in the name of keeping peace in the region, is resulting in much misery for innocent



people, both men and women. Before the end of organized warfare in the CHT, many instances of rape of indigenous women by security personnel were widely reported, if discreetly. The cessation of hostilities may have decreased the risk of such sexual offences, but such risk has not been removed completely. In fact, the cessation of war has led to higher mobility of women, which, ironically enough, subjects them to risks of being raped or harassed by Bengali settlers, law enforcing personnel as much as, or even more than before. Although the 1997 Accord provides for the dismantling of military camps (except for some specified large garrisons or 'cantonments'), this provision is still be fully implemented. Therefore, large numbers of army and other security personnel are still present in the rural areas of the CHT, where indigenous women move about to collect water, fuel and fodder. Thus, the risks of rape and sexual harassment of indigenous women are still substantial (Halim et.al., 2005:22)

Furthermore, state-sponsored Bengali in-migration (Roy, 1997) (1979-1984) not only led to the displacement of the hill people in the CHT but also created security problems for them, for both the men and the women. For instance, hill women from the remote areas used to visit *bazar* areas that are dominated by Bengali people. Some of the interviewed women mentioned that in most cases of market transactions they are deprived of the actual price of the farm produce by unscrupulous Bengali traders and middlemen. On many occasions, not only were women given unfairly low prices by the Bengali shop owners (all male), but also ridiculed by them (Halim, 2002; Halim et.al, 2005). As in the case of security forces, instances of rape and violence against indigenous women by the state-sponsored Bengali settlers also took place during the insurgency period. However, such instances still persist and are far from over in the post-conflict period. This may be because the settlers, who were mostly confined in military-protected "cluster villages" before are now far more mobile because of the end of the guerilla war. In the rare cases where the affected women do gather the courage to speak out and file complaints against military/para-military/police/para-police perpetrators, women may encounter further threats. More often, however, the perpetrators face no consequences and those who report the crimes are further harassed. In other instances, these crimes are not reported to any government authority at all, for fear of reprisals. The fact that such fear is widespread shows that the Government and/or the security forces have either not provided justice on pervious occasions of a similar nature, or if they have indeed done so, the matter of justice has not been communicated to the concerned people. This

crisis of confidence needs to be addressed by the government in a proactive manner (Halim et al, 2005).

It is argued that conflict and militarization strengthens the masculinized ethos. The research finding reveals that in the postaccord period, CHT society has become more violent and criminalized. The adverse impact is reflected in the use of drugs and arms. Indigenous women reported that they not only feel insecure from the Bengali settlers but insecure from their own men as well (Mohsin, 2002; Halim et.al. 2005).

**Why Indigenous Women are More Affected:** The violation of human rights in general may affect women more than men because indigenous women's life is shaped by the patriarchal and largely patrilineal nature of the social system. Although indigenous women have far greater social mobility than non-indigenous women in comparable rural societies in Bangladesh, in terms of the right to inheritance, legal and political rights, decision-making powers and so forth, their situation is little better than that of non-indigenous women, if at all. Economic inequality and discriminatory social and cultural attitudes reinforce women's subordinate position in society. Further, the last official census (1991) suggests that the literacy rates for indigenous women are far lower than their men's, as is also the case with non-indigenous people in the CHT and in other parts of the country (Halim, 2002).

Indigenous women's dependence on men within the family and on the extended family became strongly reinforced by the asymmetrical rules of inheritance. Discriminatory inheritance laws further hinder women's overall emancipation. The inheritance laws of most indigenous peoples, including the most numerous groups, tend to be discriminatory against women. The common trend of the indigenous peoples is that only sons inherit landed property. Generally women cannot claim paternal property. The notable exceptions, to an extent, are the Marma people in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Garo and Khasi in the plains; (Halim, 2002; Halim, 2006).

Despite their socio-economic and political marginalization, indigenous women play a primary role in production, especially in the subsistence-oriented agricultural communities. The impact of globalization on indigenous women is far-reaching. Physical displacement from their ancestral territories and production base has led to economic and cultural dislocation.

Indigenous women are also severely under-represented in the traditional and largely hereditary institutions of the chiefs and sub-chiefs

(*raja*, headman and *karbari*). Generally, in the rural setting the headman resolves disputes within the community. If the headman's decision does not end the dispute, the matter goes to the circle chief and usually the chiefs' decision is final, apart from the few instances when the chiefs' decisions are challenged through review petitions to the government authorities. Indigenous women are seldom consulted in political matters concerning the community, and have little or no role in major decision-making processes. Even women who have freed themselves from traditional restrictions at the family level are not yet in a position to either become headman or be otherwise represented in the local power structure. Under the near-hereditary traditional institutions of the "Head-man" and "Karbari" (village head), the incumbents are usually men (Halim, 2002; Halim, 2003; Halim et al., 2005:15).

Since 1997, indigenous women, like other women in the country, are being elected into the seats for union council members (lowest tier of elected local self-government) reserved exclusively for women. However, these women councilors are yet to make a significant impact upon the decision-making processes of the union councils.

**Consequences of Violence against Women:** In the militarized situation, hill women constitute the most vulnerable section of the CHT population. The case studies show<sup>7</sup> that all the cases of human rights abuse against women share some things in common. In almost all the cases, the violence and sufferings of the violated women continued to the period after the signing of the CHT Accord of 1997. The Hill people hoped that the peace accord would bring an end to all forms of human rights violation in the region, but that was not to happen. The form of human rights violation has changed, but its occurrence still continues, especially against women (Halim et al., 2005:32-34).

The case studies in general, reveal that all the women who encountered rape not only suffered physical injuries but also social stigma. In cases where women were brave enough to go through medical treatment with assistance from the HWF (Hill Women's Federation) and others and file complaints against the accused, a small amount of money is occasionally given to the family as happened with some to stop them from processing the police case further. More often, it is seen that the perpetrators face no consequences and those who report the crimes are often harassed (Halim et al., 2005:33)<sup>8</sup>.

While on the subject of the raped women's role and the question of stigma attached to victims of rape, especially those victimized by security



personnel and such “outsiders”, it is important to bear in mind that there are both similarities and differences between how the matter is looked at in the plains and in the CHT. As regards Bengali society within the CHT and urban-dwelling hill people, the differences between the CHT and the plains regions are perhaps very little, if any. However, among rural hill society, although there are social pressures on rape victims, the pressure is much less severe. At least, where marriage opportunities of the rape victims is concerned, it is not usually as difficult as in the plains. For example, one of the Tripura women who was raped in Matiranga Khagrachari District, (HT) and had remained unmarried for some time is now reported to have got married (Source: Senior Tripura Woman Leader wishing to remain anonymous). This does not necessarily suggest that rape victims among the hill suffer any the less psychologically, but that hill society, at least in the rural areas, is much more humanitarian and has a richer heritage of social rehabilitative mechanisms that seem to have died away, or are less pronounced, in other places (Halim et al., Ibid).

When the aforesaid women sought justice, the local legal bodies and others concerned do not generally provide any assistance to these women (perhaps out of fear of reprisals), except for the HWF. The sufferings of these women is difficult to imagine. The socio-psychological impact of torture, molestation, abuse and rape on the Hill women cannot be ignored. It is very difficult to make generalizations about the socio-psychological impact of various crimes committed against women. The effects and trauma are not always immediately visible, and their long-term implications for the individual and society at large are difficult to assess or internalize. The interaction with these affected women reveals that insecurity caused by attacks from Bengali settlers and the military is possibly creating mental trauma from which it will be difficult for the affected persons to ever fully recover (Halim et al., 2005:34).

## Section IV

### Resistance

All of aforesaid instances of violence by various agencies did not continue without any resistance from the indigenous women of the CHT. On 21 February 1975, the '*Parbatyo Chattagram Mohila Samity*' (CHT Women Society) was formed. This was then part of the Central Committee of the JSS. During that period, each village had a branch of this *Mohila Samity*, which was known as '*Mohila Panchayat*'. The task of this *Samity* was basically to



raise awareness among the women, provide ideas about the struggle, organize political schooling, and inspire women on how to contribute in the struggle or provide psycho-moral support as women and so on. (Halim et al., 2005).

Around 1977-78, a women's armed wing of the JSS was formed. About 150 women were given arms training who spontaneously joined the struggle in the underground. However, in 1983, the wing was disbanded following the civil war within the JSS and the combining operations of the government. Most of those women remained in the underground, being wives of the party activists and the rest returned to their respective villages. Most of these women were educated (Halim et al., 2005: 34).

Later on, in the aftermath of the Langadu massacre of 1989, when the Hill Women Federation (HWF) was formed, indigenous women started participating in the democratic movements alongside the *Pahari Chhatra Parishad* (Hill Students Council) and tried to highlight the issues concerning oppression of hill women (Halim et al., 2005)<sup>8</sup>.

Other acts of resistance included a particular woman as mentioned earlier, Kalpana Chakma. Kalpana and her abduction resulted in a nationwide movement and the national and international press brought the gender issue to the forefront of the struggle. A protest strike was jointly organized by the *Pahari Gono Parishad* (PGP), *Pahari Chhatra Parishad* (PCP) and HWF in the Hill Tracts. This also received the sympathy and support from the left, human rights and women's rights activists located in the capital city of Dhaka.

At present, the HWF is one of the lead organizations that works alongside the other CHT groups for "self determination" and sees the women of the CHT as a distinct constituency in their struggle for "self determination." (Guhathakurta, 2000). Despite their attempts to obtain justice for the affected women; HWF are yet to be successful to any significant extent. Moreover, in none of the social movements in the CHT have indigenous women's presence been taken seriously for social and political change (Halim, 2000; Halim et al., 2005: 35).

**Indigenous Women and Laws of Chittagong Hill Tracts:** Among the most important laws of the CHT is the CHT Regulation 1900, which provides a detail policy for the general, judicial and revenue administration of the region and defines the power and responsibilities of various officials and institutions. The Hill District Council Acts of 1989, amended in 1998 in accordance with the 1997 accord, provided more autonomy to three district-level councils in the CHT compared to the situation before the Accord. Each

council has 33 members, excluding the chairperson, with very little representation of women. The councils are supposed to be elected by the indigenous and non-indigenous permanent residents of the respective districts. However, the councils have until now been administered by government appointees. The Accord provides for the strengthening of the self-government system of the CHT. In order to protect the cultural integrity of the CHT peoples, the CHT Regional Council Act of 1998 declared the CHT as a “tribal-inhabited area”. Moreover, the Hill District Councils (HDCs) and the CHT Regional Council (RC) have been given jurisdiction over “tribal” customary law. However, in practice the RC is yet to effectively play its expected role in this respect (Roy, 2006). None of the above mentioned laws and the institutions have addressed indigenous women's fundamental rights and are yet to engage themselves in establishing indigenous women's rights in CHT.

**Constitutional and International Obligations:** Right to life, property, food and security are fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution of Bangladesh. Article 11 explicitly maintains that the state shall be a democracy in which fundamental human rights and freedom and respect for the dignity and worth of the human person shall be guaranteed. Article 15 entrusts the state with the responsibility to provide the basic necessities of life including food, clothing, shelter, education and medical care of its citizens. The right to work and social security is also guaranteed by the same provision. Article 19 (1) ensures equality of opportunity to all its citizens; article 20 (1) establishes work as a right and duty. Article 27 provides for equality before law and article 28 (1) prohibits any form of discrimination on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Article 41 stipulates freedom of religion and article 42 provides for the right to property. (Halim, 2005)

Apart from the constitution, the state is also bound by numerous international human rights instruments, including the United Nations Charter of 1945 (Articles 1 and 55), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 (Article 2) and the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966 (Article 2), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination of 1965 (Article 1) and several other instruments. Despite these constitutional support and international conventions; human rights of the indigenous peoples are continued to be violated.

**Is Justice a far cry for the Hill Women:** The CHT Regional Council, local administrative bodies, and civil society did not, or could not, take any effective measures to redress the violence that is being committed against

the hill women by security personnel and Bengali settlers. In fact, there was no real initiative for rehabilitation or justice in the case of the women who were massively oppressed and raped by soldiers and other security personnel. As put by Umey Mong, a woman leader from the CHT:

‘The basic fact is that the issue was not given due emphasis starting from the party (JSS) and civil society as well as the whole community. What I feel is that the civil society had more responsibilities than the party to extend cooperation and support towards these helpless women socially, psychologically and economically. The civil society did not take any step towards this end. Rather, *Mohila Samity* provided them with psychological and other social supports and cooperation. (Umey Mong, a woman leader in the CHT, cited in Halim et al., 2005 :37)’.

Civil society in the CHT was unable to intervene during the insurgency period, and particularly in the eighties, when such incidences were taking place at an alarming level. According to human rights and political activists of the CHT, the situation then was so oppressive that no one dared share their political opinion or criticize the security forces for fear of reprisals. However, it is ironic that even after the peace accord was signed, and the conflict between the hill guerillas and the security forces was brought to an end, the effort given by human rights and political activists to resist these atrocities against the Hill women and to bring the perpetrators to justice seems to be quite inadequate. (Halim, 2004).

Shantu Larma<sup>9</sup> sees the violence committed against the Hill women during insurgency, particularly rape, as an instrument of counterinsurgency. He feels that the RC can only take initiatives to render justice for indigenous women only if full autonomy is given to RC. He emphasized on the need to exercise “political autonomy” by all the concerned CHT bodies. According to Larma, all the institutions are dominated by Bengalis, including police, BDR, Bangladesh Army and other law enforcing agencies. He further pointed out that those responsible for conducting inquiries when crimes against women are committed are in most case Bengalis. Even most of the doctors who write reports in hospitals, and even the lawyers concerned, are usually Bengalis. In such situations, these people do not wish to cooperate in a criminal case against a fellow Bengali. Even in the few cases when indigenous lawyers tried to help the affected women, they could not do much, due to what he said was the “hegemonic” influence of the Bengalis. It is for the aforesaid reasons that the



Kalpana Chakma case remains unresolved, Larma mentioned. (Halim, 2003; Halim et al., 2005).

It is not difficult to see that the RC has its limitations in exercising its authority. It does not have any direct authority — as empowered by law and necessary regulations and executive orders — do anything to bring the offenders of the concerned crimes to justice. Furthermore, the peace accord has made no provisions for the proper rehabilitation of the rape victims. Therefore, one cannot be very optimistic of the role of the Regional Council and other local institutions in terms of upholding the status of indigenous women as regards their physical safety and security in the very near future.

The UPDF has formally recorded its stand on equality between men and women as one of its major objectives. It too has taken some steps to try to file cases against perpetrators of violence against women, but it too has been unable to prevent violence against indigenous women, including rape. Occasionally, some assistance has been rendered by JSS and UPDF to victims of violence against women (separately), but that is not institutional support. Moreover, CHT society sees it as the issue of women themselves. The Hill women face socio-economic and political barriers to participate in any movements. This is well reflected in the writings of Kalpana Chakma as she depicts the life of indigenous women in CHT,

“On the one hand (the woman faces) the stream roller of rape, torture, sexual harassment, humiliation and helplessness inflicted by the military and Bengalis, and on the other hand, she faces the curse of social and sexual discrimination,” (cited in Guhathakurta, 2001:91).

Kalpana Chakma believed that both indigenous men and women should come forward to challenge the social, religious and political structures in order to emancipate the indigenous women. Indigenous women, unlike their counterparts in the rural areas of the plains, have the freedom to be mobile. However, this freedom should certainly not be confused with genuine autonomy. Cultural values such as old age, sex and relative importance attached to the productive roles of indigenous men and women determine their position in the family and within the community (Halim, 2002:95-105). Further, as mentioned earlier, indigenous women are not politically represented in an adequate manner, and thus their demands to be able to exercise equal right remain largely unfulfilled. Female activists are demanding an increase in the number of seats in the RC and the district councils. Many are saying that more women should be encouraged to contest in the open seats where they have no restrictions. Similarly, many



indigenous women feel that their representation among the traditional office of the headmen should also be higher.

Moreover, the hill women cited economic inabilities as a major cause behind the hill women not being in a position to politically mobilize any movements, or to participate in the democratic processes in a substantive manner. The customary laws and traditional values have guided the inheritance systems of the indigenous people<sup>10</sup>.

### **Concluding Remarks**

We understand from the above discussion that among the major obstacles that prevent proper measures to address the human rights issues of women are under-representation of indigenous women in political bodies and local and regional councils, and the lack of national interest for mobilization drives. However, it would seem that the above factors themselves cannot explain the reluctance of large sections of the CHT political leaders and civil society to put matters on various forms of violence against indigenous women, especially rape, high on their agenda of action. Thus, the reasons behind such perspectives are most likely rooted in other causes. It is a matter of conjecture whether this is partly due to the insignificant number of indigenous women in high political positions and the subconscious biases of the male-led political leadership through years or decades of conditioning under patriarchy.

Perhaps one of the more problematic areas in this regard is the separation of the hill women's problem from the hill peoples' struggle to have autonomy, as pointed out by the JSS president Shantu Larma. Therefore, the above findings support the arguments provided by Brownmiller (1975), Mac Kinnon (1989) and Pettman (1996) that peacetime violence is not treated as a collective problem as wartime violence is. Moreover, it is well to remember that patriarchal ideologies continue to dominate CHT society in terms of recognizing these various forms of violation of human rights as matter of concern.

As in the case of authorities within the CHT, at the national level too, there seem to be no serious attempts to stop such sexual, verbal and other forms of violence in the CHT or to take remedial measures of rehabilitation or measures to bring the perpetrators to justice. In fact, the situation is perhaps worse at the national level, since as regards availability of information, awareness and other matters, the situation is many times more problematic than in the case of the CHT. With the exception of a very few Dhaka-based organizations such as Bangladesh *Nari Pragati Shogshta*

(BNPS) and Naripokko, no national NGOs or human rights organizations took up the matter of rape and related issues. The roles of Naripokko and BNPS in the CHT too has been very limited and occasional, rather than a continuous process. The other exceptions are reports by international human rights organizations based in Europe. (Halim et al., 2005: 42).

There are no special measures with regard to the CHT or other indigenous people-inhabited areas in the concerned policy documents. The thrust of governmental policies and guidelines with regard to women are aimed at the atypical cases of discrimination faced by ethnic Bengali women in the plains regions. The situation of indigenous women calls first for a gender sensitivity to gender difference. It invites to see how men and women may be positioned differently, have different needs, different strengths and different skills; and how in different cultures these differences have different expressions. Second, it seeks to notice gender power relations—to examine how they shape institutions like family, the military, the state and how they intersect with relations of class and ethnicity, and how power, oppression and exploitation work through them (Moser and Clark, 2001:28). For overall development of indigenous peoples, it invites one to act for transformative change. The social, cultural and economic contexts are so different the many of national laws and policies are not appropriate for preventing discrimination against indigenous women. The inadequacies of these policies are however seldom recognised in the national discourses on women's rights, which are dominated by concerns for Bengali-speaking and Muslim women more than that of minority groups (Halim, 2001).

Further, CEDAW is a powerful tool, but fails to mention the right of self-determination for indigenous women. While CEDAW identifies unequal access to education, discriminatory wages, health, violence, human rights violations among the key threats to women, it does not reflect the fact that national policies drawing upon the provisions of CEDAW for instance Social Forestry programmes where women are only taken as beneficiaries may on occasions perpetuate the discrimination against indigenous peoples. These policies are employed not only as means of erasing their existence as indigenous peoples but also to dispose them of their rich ancestral land — the basis of their culture and survival (Halim, 2005). To address human rights violation against the hill women in the CHT and other development intervention require context specific strategies to change women's status and their ability to protect themselves from violence.

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup>The paper adopts a qualitative method, case studies, open-ended in depth interviews with indigenous women in CHT, political leaders and other key informants

<sup>2</sup>Social conceptual root, now believed, could be found in the writing of Weber particularly his allusion to social closure in Europe and more recently in the context of France when some social groups were deprived of some common social benefits. Following quote is illustrative, "Social exclusion's modern usage is...more political than sociological in origin...It is usually traced to France, where it was deployed in the 1970s and early 1980s to refer to a range of marginalized groups who had fallen through the net of the French social insurance system." Ruth Lister, *Poverty, Polity*, 2005, p 75.

<sup>3</sup>To empower women more effectively GAD pushed for women's concerns at all levels and in all fields of organizations work. This involve screening policy documents, drawing up appropriate employment policies, adopting new approaches to project planning, sex segregated data collection, monitoring and evaluation procedures, and so on. (Braidotti et. al 1994:82-83).

<sup>4</sup>Qurratul Ain Tahmina , BANGLADESH: WOMEN'S POLICY SNEAKILY CHANGED BY GOV'T, <http://www.ipsnews.net/print.asp?idnews=29672>

<sup>5</sup>See for details Halim et al. Gender and Human Rights Violation in Chittagong Hill Tracts: The Post Accord Situation, Women's Security Paper, Forum on Women in Security and International Affairs, Bangladesh Freedom Foundation , December 2005.

<sup>6</sup>For detail see description of the case studies see Halim et al. (2005).

<sup>7</sup>Chakma Chief Barrister Raja Devasish Roy has given this analysis to the researcher.

<sup>8</sup>This section has been drawn from the interview given by Ms Umay Mong a woman leader in the CHT.

<sup>9</sup>This section has been drawn from interview given by J.B. Larma, otherwise known as "Shantu Larma", the Chairperson of Regional Council and the president of JSS.

<sup>10</sup>This section has been drawn from "Inheritance & Customary Laws," Annex to Social Dimension Report, ADB, by Advocate Susmita Chakma, 13 February, 2001.

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# 32

## *Gender Issues in Development Co-operation: The European Commission's Approach*

*Zuzana Sladkova*

*“Fifty six per cent is Europe's share of international development aid”<sup>1</sup>: this is the beginning of the first speech of Luis Michel, European Commissioner for DG Development. European Union belongs to the biggest donors in this world and its main political goal of Community development cooperation is the reduction of poverty. The majority of the world's poor are women. The European Union understands the importance of achieving the gender equality within itself<sup>2</sup> but also the responsibility to promote gender equality in development co-operation. In the European Community Treaty is mentioned, "Community shall aim to eliminate inequalities and to promote equality, between men and women"<sup>3</sup>.*

The Treaty of Amsterdam includes equality between men and women among the objectives of the EU<sup>4</sup>. The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU sets out the principle of gender equality in all areas and

includes a number of provisions whose aims are to promote equality between men and women.

### **European Commission's Policy Towards Gender Mainstreaming**

After the Beijing Conference in 1995 increased the interest of gender equality in European development co-operation and first policy statements were adopted. A 1995 Communication to the Council and the European Parliament on Integrating Gender Issues in Development Cooperation was followed by a 1998 Council Resolution on Integrating Gender Issues in Development Co-operation.<sup>5</sup>

In 2000 the Community Framework Strategy on Gender Equality was presented for the years 2001-2005. The objective was to establish a framework for action providing for gender mainstreaming in all Community activities in such a way that they help to attain the goal of removing inequalities and promoting gender equality.<sup>6</sup>

In 2001, a Program of Action for the mainstreaming of gender equality (2001-2006)<sup>7</sup> was adopted and brought a systematic and coherent approach to mainstreaming gender equality in the European Community's development policy. This program focused on a new attitude towards integrating gender in the development co-operation, which was oriented on the role of women. After the implementation of the program of action the concentration was on the links between gender and development and the role of men was imposed.

With this program of action three main levels of implementation of gender were installed<sup>8</sup>:

- the analysis and integration of gender within the priority areas identified by the Community development policy,
- Six priority areas of development co-operation into which gender is integrated<sup>9</sup>
- Link between trade and development;
  - Regional integration and co-operation
  - Support for macro-economic policies and promotion of equitable access to social services;
  - Transport;
  - Food security and sustainable rural development;
  - Enhanced institutional capacity building.
- Strengthening gender mainstreaming within projects and programs at regional and country levels,

- Gender capacity building.

With the view of fully institutionalizing gender into the EC development co-operation the following three objectives need to be concerned<sup>10</sup>:

- Analyzing and integrating gender into the six priority areas for EC development co-operation activities;
- Mainstreaming gender within projects or programs designed at country or regional level;
- Building the EC's internal gender capacity.

In April 2004, the Council and the European Parliament adopted a Regulation promoting gender equality in development co-operation.<sup>11</sup> This Regulation is for 2004-2006 period and defines the objectives and priorities of EC action and the type of activities that can be co-financed. The specific objectives of the Regulation are<sup>12</sup>;

- To support the mainstreaming of gender in all areas of development co-operation combined with specific measures in favour of women, with the goal to promote gender equality as an important contribution to poverty reduction;
- To support endogenous public and private capacities in developing countries which can take the responsibility and initiative for promoting gender equality.

In October 2004, the Programming Document-Promoting Gender Equality in development cooperation was passed by the European Commission and specifies the follow programming priorities for 2005 and 2006 under thematic assistance:

- Promoting gender equality in attitudes and behavior of adolescent boys and girls in relation to violence against girls and women.
- Training and methodological support of key stakeholders in partner countries.
- Supporting UNIFEM to organize a conference in the context of Beijing plus 10 and the MDG Review. The funds will mainly be in support of the participation of developing countries.<sup>13</sup>

These programming priorities are transferred into Annual Work Programs for grants in the area of gender equality. They are published annually and each program outlines the process of implementation of gender equality throughout that year, the thematic priorities covered and the budget assigned to them.



The Work Programme for 2005 offers a proposal of a competitive call for proposals for projects supporting education and awareness-raising interventions aimed at engaging both adolescent boys and girls in programmes contributing to change in attitudes and behaviours concerning gender roles.

## **European Commissions and Gender Issues**

European Union, as an international actor, is a signatory of the international agreements and declarations that aim to reduce gender inequalities and promote women's rights. An example of these agreements is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women signed in 1979, the Cairo Program of Action from 1994, the Beijing Platform of Action from 1995 and the Declaration of the Millennium Development Goals from 2000.

The Beijing conference was a milestone that changed the position of women in development to gender in development and the gender mainstreaming was adopted.

What have appeared to be important steps on the way to attain the UN Millennium Development Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were the two international conferences in Cairo and Beijing where the women's rights to equal access and full participation in power structures and decision-making were recognized. The Millennium Development Goals strongly emphasize the needs of women and children in areas of health and education.

The third goal is directed towards the promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women. The fourth target is to eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and to all levels of education no later than 2015.<sup>14</sup>

The Europeans Commission Gender Equality in Development Co-operation brochure calls for strong actions by both the larger donor community such as the EU and by individual donors to contribute to the achievement of all the MDGs and to develop its partnership with developing countries as regards the third goal.<sup>15</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The European Commissions approach in gender issues in development co-operation is noticeable since the Beijing Conference in 1995. In 2000, Program of Action for the mainstreaming of gender equality (2001-2006) meant the coherent implementation of gender equality issues to European Community's development policy. In April 2004, the Council and

the European Parliament adopted a Regulation promoting gender equality in development co-operation, which supported the mainstreaming of gender in all areas of development co-operation and endogenous public and private capacities in developing countries. EU is also active in international basis in case of gender issues since 1979 and also as important promoter of MDGs from 2000.

### Endnotes:

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<sup>2</sup>Year 2007 is the European year of equal chances

<sup>3</sup>European Community Treaty <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/sk/treaties/dat/11957E/word/11957E.doc>

<sup>4</sup>Treaty of Amsterdam <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11997E/htm/11997E.htm173010078>

<sup>5</sup>EC: Gender Equality: from policy to practice-The role of the European Commission. Belgium: European Communities, 2003. 32 p. ISBN 92-894-6072-5. p. 3

<sup>6</sup>Community Framework Strategy on Gender Equality (2001-2005) <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/cha/c10932.htm>

<sup>7</sup>COM(2001)295

<sup>8</sup>Program of Action for the mainstreaming of gender equality <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/rl2502.htm>

<sup>9</sup>Declaration of the Council and the Commission of 20 November 2000 on the European Community's development policy <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/rl2001.htm>

<sup>10</sup>COM/2001/0295 [http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga\\_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type\\_doc=COMfinal&an\\_doc=2001&nu\\_doc=295](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type_doc=COMfinal&an_doc=2001&nu_doc=295)

<sup>11</sup>(EC) 806/2004

<sup>12</sup>[http://ec.europa.eu/comm/europeaid/projects/gender/documents/newsletter\\_1.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/comm/europeaid/projects/gender/documents/newsletter_1.pdf)

<sup>13</sup>Programming Document for 2005 and 2006 Promoting Gender Equality in Development Co-operation Budgetary Hem 210206

<sup>14</sup>Millennium development goals <http://ddp-ext.worldbank.org/ext/GMIS/gdmisdo?siteId=2&goalId=7&menuId=LNAV01GOAL3>

<sup>15</sup>EC; Gender Equality: from policy to practice-The role of the European Commission. Belgium: European Communities, 2003. 32 p. ISBN 92-894-6072-5. p. 6.

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# 33

## *Efforts to Achieve Gender Equality in Vietnam*

*Chu Nhi Ha*

*I*t is my great pleasure to attend this International Conference on "Peace and Development" in Chandigarh, India. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Organizing Committee for its invitation and warm hospitality.

In the framework of the sub-theme "Gender Dimensions in Peace and Development", and within the scope of my work experience as a social worker as well, I would like to deal with only a very small aspect of social development, namely initial efforts for achievement of gender equality in Vietnam.

As you have probably known, Vietnam was under the feudal ideology of man preference to woman for a long time. Soon after the independent Vietnamese State was founded in 1945, President Ho Chi



Minh included "equality for men and women" as one of our basic obligations in our first-ever Constitution enforced in 1946.

From that time onwards the Vietnamese Government and people have made great efforts to realize the goal of gender equality. It was recognized as a great event when a 'Strategy for the Advancement of Women to the year 2010' was approved by the Prime Minister in 2002, which demonstrated the Government's strong commitment to the long-term process of achieving gender equality. Various institutional mechanisms have also been established to implement gender equality policies, such as the National Committee for the Advancement of Women.

Thanks to these efforts, made during the implementation of the *Doi moi* (renewal) process over the past 20 years, the spiritual and material life of Vietnamese women has improved.

All strata of women have brought into full play their potential and creativeness to make great contributions to the successful implementation of national socio-economic development tasks. Women's position in Vietnam has been raised and this gender equality has seen remarkable progress, with the development of better opportunities for women to raise their capability, secure jobs, develop the economy, reduce poverty, increase income, ensure a decent living and build a happy family based on equality and progress.

The role and status of Vietnamese women has thus significantly improved. Vietnam continues to rank first in Asia for women's representation in the National Assembly (Parliament — 27.31 per cent for the period 2002-2007, an increase of nearly 10 per cent compared with the 1992-1997 period. The proportion of women in the local People's Councils — agencies representing the grassroots people's will and aspiration — across the country at provincial, district and communal levels is 23.8 per cent, 23.22 per cent, 20.10 per cent respectively; an average increase of 2.7 per cent in comparison with the previous term. The rate of literate women is now 90.9 per cent compared to 82.3 per cent in 1993.

Regarding implementation of the eight United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the United Nations in 2005 assessed that Vietnam was a bright example in the implementation of three goals, namely, elimination of illiteracy, reduction of poverty, and improvement of gender equality. The country recorded considerable success in the gender development index, ranking 87<sup>th</sup> among 144 countries worldwide (Singapore is ranked 28<sup>th</sup>, Thailand 61<sup>st</sup>, the Philippines 66<sup>th</sup>, China 83<sup>rd</sup>, Cambodia 105<sup>th</sup> and Laos 109<sup>th</sup>).

In 2003, the National Assembly incorporated the Development of Gender Equality Law into the Law-making Programme for the period of 2002-2007, and assigned the Vietnam Women's Union the responsibility of drafting the Bill.

However, in order to approach the goal of gender equality in a comprehensive manner, from the sociological point of view, people's awareness on gender equality in Vietnam should be further improved as currently a large proportion of the population understand and consider equality as meaning a balanced distribution between men and women in all fields, or simply giving priority to women. Reasons of gender inequalities reflected in different dimensions should be therefore openly discussed and brought clearly to the people's minds, both men and women.

With regards to administrative measures, from my point of view, in order to further improve gender equality and facilitate women's participation in state and social management activities and fulfillment of their tasks as citizens, workers and initial teachers of their children, it is essential to work on the following tasks:

- Raising public awareness on gender equality;
- Further improving the legal system and policies that ensure gender equality; and
- Intensifying oversight and evaluation of the implementation of laws and policies on gender equality, including regular supervision by the National Assembly and People's Councils, as well as in the evaluation activities of state management agencies and people's organizations at all levels.

As Vietnam integrates more and more into regional and global economies, this requires improved understanding of the challenges and different policy options available to respond to the socio-economic impacts of globalization and integration, and more equitable distribution of the benefits to all Vietnamese, especially women, in the new context. Gender issues are complex issues, and people's lives are complicated, hence one element that is always crucial is the process of enhancing gender equality in socio-economic development, which would enable both men and women to improve their lives through their own efforts for the purpose of achieving a world with peace and development for all.

# 34

## *Initiatives Towards Gender Equality through Political Empowerment of Rural Women: Indian Experience*

*Rozy Veid*

*T*he 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment to the Constitution of India that redefined and repositioned the traditional panchayat system in the context of 'local governance' is now history. However, the landmark amendment had opened a new chapter in governance from a development perspective, by ensuring one-third space for women as elected representative in the three-tier panchayat system. The opportunities thrown open by the new system were hailed as the harbinger of change as it put women in the forefront of grassroots governance.

A decade later, however, the promise of change seems belied in many ways. While women may have secured their right in representing the fairer sex, whether or not they have been empowered in the right

earnest remains an open question? Exceptional instances of women taking up the lead role in governance have been noted but exceptions have not proved to be the rule. Yet, it is worth noting how women have powered their way into governance and have seized the initiative in contributing to strengthening the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs).

## Issues

In many ways, the engagement of the grassroots organizations in empowering the panchayati raj system has reached a plateau. Though innovative approaches are being applied, much has remained within the framework of 'awareness and training'. Consequently, there seems a need to enrich experiences thus far with analysis on the achievements vis-à-vis gaps; by building understanding on governance as an evolving institution; and by creating alliances that discourse contemporary developments.

**Compelling Questions:** These may be listed as follows:

- Does creating one-third space for women in the lowest level of democracy guarantee their legitimate share in governance?
- Does their presence elicit increased involvement of women in Gram Sabha to influence decisions that govern their lives?
- Has presence of women been able to remedy their daily dose of woes borne out of ages of discrimination and exploitation?

**Confronting Paradoxes:** These are the most critical:

- What are the societal influences that continue to belittle the role of women as elected representatives as well as electorates?
- Has women presence offered a fresh perspective on governance that has so far eluded governance from grassroots upward?
- Has women presence provided gender appreciation in a unisex world driven and governed by the dominant counterpart?

**Counting Optimism:** These questions call for response:

- How much women have been able to circumvent their new found role in understanding governance vis-à-vis their position in the social system?
- Have women been able to renegotiate a better status for themselves and their likes in the decision-making institutions and social hierarchy?
- Are there significant learnings through the decade of 'women in governance' that can be used to leverage their case through



involvement of other actors - academia, civil society, politicians and planners?

While the above offers a broad framework for the research paper, the key concern has been to interface the principles / learnings at the micro-level with the policy framework at the macro-level. The micro-macro interface offers a better means of understanding of how governance impacts on the interests of the women in the forefront of grassroots governance.

### **Ensuring Political Participation of Women**

The decentralized theory in the Reservation Policy in the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment Act has sown the seeds for social and political mobilization of the women to have a lively and healthy society, which would ascertain better citizenship to one and all. The reservation of one-third women members in the PRIs has provided new avenues in politics for many first generation women members. Many women feel that much advance has been made, as women at grassroots level have come out of their shell and participated in the public sphere and this has made the present Panchayat system better as it gives all sections an opportunity to participate in politics. Of course, many women consider the present system as better because it is working for the betterment of the people with presence and participation of the women that has made all the difference to the Panchayats.

They also believe that the Panchayats are now more transparent and representative of all sections, particularly the Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes. Even the expression of dissatisfaction and demand for support services are the result of awareness of the power of office and the exposure to the wider knowledge and practices. However, women believe that they can do better if some support services are provided. The outlook of most of the elected women is thus positive, confident and assertive. They are prepared to face the obstacles and not be cowed down by their limitations. These elected women have thus entered politics and would like to stay.

Now the question arises whether the elected representatives of PRIs, especially from Scheduled Castes and Backward Castes categories and generally from all the sections, are capable of performing their role as a PRI representative in formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of Panchayat functions regarding rural developmental programmes and schemes effectively and efficiently. To a great extent, the answer is in negative. The reasons are:

- Illiteracy among the PRI elected representatives is the major impediment while functioning effectively.
- Lack of awareness about their rights, powers and duties as Panchayat members, and lack of information about development/welfare schemes of various government departments makes them dependent upon the official counterparts.
- The financial dependence of women elected representative on male member of the family also causes major hurdle for functioning as elected representatives on their own.
- Even the sources of income for Panchayats are either not sufficient or not received and disbursed timely.
- Reluctance of the state government to transfer funds, functions and functionaries to PRIs.
- Pseudo politics and factionalism.
- Primacy of Gram Sabha is not being protected and maintained for promotion of development activities and identification of beneficiaries for different rural development schemes.
- Lack of co-ordination between PRIs, government functionaries, NGOs and other sectors to upgrade skills of rural people.
- Lack of transparency and accountability.
- Inadequate dissemination of information, education and training to the elected representatives, particularly women and SCs for effective implementation of Panchayati Raj System.

After analyzing the obvious problems being faced by the women Panchayati Raj Functionaries, an attempt is made to place some suggestions and recommendations emerging there from, for the perusal of the concerned authorities.

Seventy-third Constitution Amendment Act aims at 'Empowering the Women' and it is the State's duty to ensure it. To empower the marginalized women through reservation, the first generation women who undergo various constraints due to the structural and institutional blocks are to be provided with suitable tools to become effective in their role of 'Elected Representative'.

Requisite implications can be divided into three parts.

- Education and awareness generation.
- Economic independence; both personal and for executing functions.
- Networking of institutional support.

There is no doubt that most of the women Gram Panchayat members lack confidence in taking up activities due to lack of education and awareness which restricts their participation in the PRI functions. They have to be informed about the role, functions and powers of their respective Panchayat bodies and about their own self as elected representatives. They must know what they do not know. In the light of a long history of female subordination, lack of women's awareness on social, political and economic issues, which resulted in very little involvement by them in decision making platform regarding the issues attached to their own lives, some suitable steps like the following must be taken to counter this:

- Basic education including adult education must be ensured to cater to the need of the hour.
- Adult education must also aim at imparting knowledge about welfare schemes and development programmes and motivate people's involvement in local self-governance.

### **Generating Awareness**

Without educating the women, it is unrealistic to expect them to function effectively. For socio-economic and political mobilisation of women, the following measures are necessary:

- Awareness generation programmes should tell the women about the need and the significance of reservation policy.
- Reservation is a means to achieve the goal of women empowerment, it is not the goal itself and therefore, while there is reservation of seats for women, they must also be encouraged to contest from general seats.
- There is a strong need for pre-election information dissemination on Panchayati Raj, its structures, functions, especially the importance of Gram Sabha, peoples' role in it, the need for women's entry to Panchayati Raj etc. Relying on men folk for everything; for knowing about the system and surroundings in which they live, is not a healthy sign for women's empowerment. Pre-election information dissemination will not only benefit the women alone, it will also benefit everyone who is a part of the same political system.
- Post-election training is the most important factor of their role transformation. State government must make efforts to orient specialized training pertaining to panchayati raj and rural development, personality development and participatory

approach and gender sensitization of the male members of rural society including male officials and functionaries.

- Training must be of short duration and should be provided at the nearest possible place. If possible, T.A./D.A. should also be paid to the trainees so that they are not financially constrained.
- There is a need for greater interaction and exchange of visits among women belonging to various regions of India. The social variations and developmental experiences, apart from the travel and exposure, would help the elected women to compare and learn. Such interaction is needed among Panchayat chairpersons and members within the State as well as with those of other states.

### **Ensuring Economic Self-Reliance**

- The State Government must aim at developing entrepreneurship and development skills among the rural women so that they can gain economic independence without which political independence is of no use.
- The rural women members in the rural economy should be encouraged to take up projects under SGSY as it was found there is widespread ignorance about SGSY and other relevant programmes for the economic upliftment of the rural women.
- Panchayati raj, which was envisaged to be a non party system, becomes a party system when the Sarpanch has to get money from the local M.L.A. who is always willing to offer for his own political gains. Recommendations of the State Finance Commission must be implemented for the mobilization of resources at the Gram Panchayat level.

### **Institutional Reforms**

- Many a time, the Panchayat secretaries take the advantage of the illiteracy and ignorance of the women Gram Panchayat members. To overcome this, the functions of the Gram Panchayats should be made less complicated and transparent so that the women Gram Panchayat members may be able to grasp and understand in the training programmes.
- The State government must ensure that educated women also become village Panchayat Secretaries. This will certainly help the elected women to interact with the woman Panchayat secretary freely and seek her guidance besides participating more effectively in the Panchayat functions.



- The number of villages Panchayat Secretaries must also be enhanced; presently one Secretary, as incharge of many Panchayats is unable to disburse his duty in the desired manner.
- Bureaucrats should be more receptive to demands of the women and their functions should be made more transparent. The officials who discourage women representatives' participation must be checked and controlled accordingly. Gender sensitization training must be provided to them to encourage the women representatives and to provide them necessary support system.
- More finance should be given to the Panchayats. Finance should be directly sent across to bodies that are the final recipients.
- The provision that the Sarpanch must consult other members of the Panchayat should be followed and implemented in letter and spirit. Powers should also be delegated to Panches and they should be involved in the village development work.
- Efforts must be made to minimize the role of political parties at the level of Panchayat functions.
- Steps should be taken to orient the people and the Gram Panchayat women members to improve the accountability through Gram Sabha and create space for people participation in local governance.
- If possible, some form of remuneration must be paid to elected representatives to encourage them to take part in the Panchayat functions more effectively. They should at least be paid TA/DA for attending the meetings outside their village or for attending a training programme. It would certainly help the women members to participate without the fear of losing on day's earnings or the guilt of spending their husband's/son's hard-earned money.

## Conclusion

The present Panchayati Raj system has provided the marginalized rural women an opportunity to play on effective role as elected representatives of PRIs at different levels. Though there are certain personal, economic, social, cultural and institutional hindrances in the way of their efficient functioning, the scenario is not wholly dismal. A certain ray of hope is there. In spite of various constraints, some of the women representative could emerge victorious due to their determination and perseverance. We cannot expect miracles to happen overnight from this disadvantaged group, which has to work within the limits set by traditional

patriarch society. New to world of politics, they have to operate in an unfavorable and hostile environment. However, the wind of change has started blowing. There is no lack of potential and confidence. There is a dire need to equip the women elected representatives (both of Scheduled Castes and Backward Castes and of general categories) with necessary information and knowledge through capacity building to achieve the goal of improvement in the quality of life in rural areas. To ensure the effective performance of functions and powers by the representatives, it is imperative to increase and upgrade their knowledge, administrative and technical skills, leadership qualities and governance capabilities through massive education and training for planning and implementation of the 29 subjects shown in 11<sup>th</sup> schedule of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment. Once these representatives are converted into more effective human resource, they will automatically become trainers for members of Gram Sabha. This will enable every rural adult to be converted into a valuable human resource capable of contributing to rural development. This capacity building exercise requires a combined effort on the behalf of State government, NGOs, training institutions, academicians and researchers.

There is a strong need to counter the odds and barriers faced by the women by providing them the knowledge and information to take up their 'New Role'. In this process, the training in different phases would equip them to overcome the initial inhibition and to develop their personalities. The concerted strategy of training and awareness generation, conventions, exchange visit and conductive institutional network would facilitate them to realize their own strength and the latent power of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment Act.

# 35

## *Promotion of Human Rights and Gender Equality as Major Inputs and Ingredients Towards Providing Peace and Development*

*Nina Puri*

A plethora of UN conferences unfurled in the 1990's and the Millennium Development Goals introduced in the year 2000 provide sufficient cause and case for nations to recognize the need to respond to issues concerning human rights and gender equality in promoting the ideals of peace and development. In a world of prevailing inequality by addressing such concerns effectively we can make earth a more equitable place to live in.

Universal attainment of human rights is one of the most critical issues of this century. Ideally all people everywhere, including women and girls, should be able to live their lives in dignity, and enjoy freedom and basic rights. These rights are inalienable, interdependent and indivisible, and should apply regardless of race, colour, faith, gender or

sexual orientation. Indeed, we should strive towards a world in which all women, men and young people have access to the information and services they need, as also a world in which choices are fully respected, where stigma and discrimination have no place. Undeniably, this is a challenging task that needs to be taken up strategically.

The reality today is that women face a multitude of gender-based discriminatory practices, and we need to address current challenges in this sphere. Within the wider canvas of human rights and gender equality as cross-cutting interventions for peace and development, I would like to focus on issues of sexual and reproductive health. Non-discrimination and equality are two of the most critical components of the right to sexual and reproductive health, a field where the effect of gender discrimination is most apparent, disproportionately affecting women more than men, with women from marginalized groups carrying the greatest burden with ever increasing socio-cultural and economic tension for individuals and families, and eventually negatively impacting society as a whole.

### **Lack of Gender Equality**

Although certain problems are more common in individual countries and cultures, gender discrimination is a pervasive and complex global phenomenon. Women are discriminated against from creation to cremation - from womb to tomb. In fact, in South Asia, son preference is steadily bringing out a skewed sex ratio. For example in Nepal, they say the "earth sinks by a foot when a girl is born, however rises a foot to greet a son". In India, it is often quoted that "bringing up a girl is like watering a plant in another's garden".

According to the UN Special Report on Health and Sexual and Reproductive Ill Health gives rise to nearly 20 per cent of the global burden of ill health for women and 14 per cent for men. The right to health including sexual reproductive health and family planning is a basic human right, then why is it that the maternal death rate in developing countries is 50 times higher than in the developed world (500 against 10 per 100,000 live births)? Out of the approximately 600,000 maternal deaths in the world 55 per cent are in Asia and 40 per cent are in Africa. Need one spelt out the profound consequences for a family when a mother dies! The chances of death of her children under five years of age are as high as 50 per cent. In India alone 130,000 women die each year while giving birth, 20,000 alone on account of unsafe abortion. All this is not independent of economic inequality and social differences.



**Economic and health inequalities:** In some societies, from the time a girl arrives in the world she has lower status than her male siblings and is commodified for her economic value. These girls with a price on their head receive less education, are likely to receive less medical care and are worked harder than their brothers.

**Child marriage:** Some girls may be forced into early marriage, and are afforded no voice in their choice of partners, it is highly unlikely that they are aware of rights to make decisions regarding their bodies or their sexual and reproductive health. UNFPA estimates that 82 million girls in developing countries who are now aged 10 to 17 will be married before their 18<sup>th</sup> birthday.

Early marriage deprives girls of their educational opportunities, ability to negotiate intimate contact, make decisions for the family and enjoy basic personal freedoms. Additionally, their physical well being is placed in jeopardy with pregnancies and childbirth before their bodies have reached the maturity required for mother and child health. In fact, the girls are too young to get married and too old for toys, pleasures of childhood bypass them. They seem to be the children of a lesser God!

**Sex determination and infanticide:** In some cultures where sons are valued more than daughters, female fetuses are aborted, or female babies may be killed or die due to neglect after birth.

**Trafficking:** The gender bias in human rights is magnified even more if we explore the world of trafficking, where girls are sold against their will into a life of prostitution, (e.g. In India and Nepal unfortunately poverty compels them into commercial sex).

The above scenario illustrates the point that poverty measured by levels of income does not tell the whole story; it is also a human rights issue which encompasses in its ambit empowerment of women, gender equality and equity, illiteracy, environment issues, as also access to quality healthcare including sexual and reproductive health and rights. HIV/AIDS is in pandemic form causing poverty and attacking some of our most vulnerable communities.

There are many more examples, I could mention, including: gender-based violence, being refused the right to vote or stand for election to a government, the use of rape as a weapon of war and genocide, and so on. There is an obvious need for change on so many levels of society. One place to start is by encouraging national governments and international

organizations to promote rights by honouring international human rights treaties as also commitment to financial resources as a priority.

### **Human Rights Framework to Promote Women's Rights**

Within the framework of international human rights treaties, there are essential underlying duties, obligations and entitlements that are necessary to guarantee individual enjoyment of rights.

By signing and ratifying international conventions, States commit themselves to undertake a series of measures to end discrimination against women in all forms, including:

- to incorporate the principle of equality of men and women into their legal system, abolish all discriminatory laws and adopt appropriate ones, prohibiting discrimination against women. For example, property rights, laws on rape, sexual harassment etc.
- to establish tribunals and other public institutions to ensure the effective protection of women against discrimination, and
- to ensure elimination of all acts of discrimination against women by persons, organizations or enterprises (equal opportunity, employment, working conditions etc.)

However, the reality is that in some countries that have signed these conventions, there is more rhetoric than rights.

The UN Convention on the 'Rights of the Child' and the Convention on the 'Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women', are landmark conventions which provide a solid framework for the enjoyment of human rights for women and girls, and are already proving to be successful. For example, girls in China enjoy a number of basic human rights, including the right to education. UNICEF estimates that approximately 99 per cent of young women in China between 15-24 years old are literate.

In India, only in October 2006, the Notification of a law to safeguard women against abuse at home underline Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 has come into force. The million-dollar question, however, arises as to how it will be enforced effectively?

Until more people understand that they have rights, rights will always remain a remote concept. One way of demystifying rights is by exploring practical ways in which rights can be made part of everyone's daily life. There are a range of strategies to demonstrate how to put rights into practice. For example, working with a rights-based approach means that an organization is able to:

- take steps to empower women to make sexual and reproductive health decisions, free of coercion, violence and discrimination
- take action to redress gender-based violence and ensure that there are sensitive and compassionate services and support available for the survivors of gender-based violence, particularly rape and incest
- ensure that young people are able to receive information, sexuality, reproductive health and contraceptives, the risks of early pregnancy and the prevention of sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS, as well as appropriate services for sexual and reproductive health
- ensure that sexual and other health services are not discriminatory and are available to all people regardless of their age, sex, marital or HIV status, sexual orientation or any other such factor
- involve both men and women at all stages in their work

## Core Principles of Human Rights

**Participation** entitles all people to free, active and meaningful contribution to development in which human rights can be realized. As caring people, we can stand up against gender-based violence such as honour killings, female infanticide, female genital mutilation and so on. By forming or joining NGOs, individuals can actively participate in improving human rights in their community.

**Equality** is the universal level for all rights. With equality, women would not require parental or spousal consent for sexual and reproductive services, as men currently have no obligation to seek. People would be allowed to explore their sexuality free of fear, shame, or guilt for their desires, while not infringing on the rights of others.

**Empowerment** means giving people the power, capacities, capabilities and access needed to change their own lives, improve their communities and influence their destinies. The Millennium Development Goals Task Force on Education and Gender Equality states that women need equal access to not only education and health, but also the ability to use resources to make informed choices and decisions. Knowledge is power. Self determination about the selection of a partner, when or whether to plan a family and the prevention of sexually transmitted infections, enables people to build their lives as they choose.

With technology becoming cheaper and more accessible, it will impact large cross sections of society. While it may only be a few who can



afford it at the moment, imagine gender determination tests being freely available in states like Haryana and Punjab that already have such low male-female ratios. This gets expediency given India's preference for first-borns to be male. Who is going to send their only sons into the armed forces or for that matter to the police or to other high-risk careers? Fewer girls in society will not alter the natural biological desires in human beings. This abnormality in gender ratios is going to manifest itself socially as increase in rape, prostitution, incest and other forms of sexual behaviour. It will also have a lasting impact on social interaction, changing the all too familiar family structure. For starters, there will be fewer marriages. And this is just the beginning. The next step would be designer babies! One can't even imagine the moral dilemmas we will have to face.

It is absolutely ironical — on the one hand, the whole world is crying out to correct gender inequality, empower women and provide them with equal economic opportunities, on the other hand, new technology is being misused to perpetuate gender inequality!

**Accountability** includes obligations upon governments to respect, protect and fulfill the human rights standards and laws agreed upon through international treaties. Governments are duty bound to inform their citizens of any harmful effects of sexual and reproductive care technology, hormonal imbalance, invasive methods of contraception, indictables etc. and make them aware of emerging contraceptive, infertility and STI treatments, in addition to safe abortion services.

## What Next?

When we talk of human rights we need to consider women in the process. We need to challenge modes of thinking that reinforce the concept that women are property and do not have the same ability to contribute to society through education, work or by living as they choose like their male counterparts. We need to challenge our thinking about men as well. Men also need gender based services for sexual and reproductive health and space to discuss the changing role of the father in the family unit. To raise young men that believe in gender equity, we need to highlight and encourage male mentors within their culture.

Gender equality thus needs to be incorporated in all aspects of participation, empowerment and accountability within human rights policy development and treated as a crosscutting issue.

Many patriarchal societies still heavily influence young men to behave in a negative way towards women and girls. We need to help them



break that cycle for their own sake and that of women. We also need to include the issue of preparing them to become responsible fathers as part of their socialization.

Young men tend to be neglected in general sexual and reproductive health programmes and services. Sensitizing young men should be also about addressing their own sexual and reproductive concerns and needs. In other words, sexual and reproductive health communications should not only focus on violence against women and preventing pregnancy, but also include messages on how young men can express their own sexuality, be comfortable with their bodies and be healthy. Such an approach will not only improve the sexual health of young men themselves, but also help to highlight the important and proactive role young men can play in improving the health of young women and their children.

Twelve years after the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) agenda, identifying and clarifying the inter-linkages between populations, environment, resources and poverty become vital. In the past several years, it is clear that commitments made by donor nations and some developing countries, are not being met in the allocation of resources for this. Governments and organizations also need to make a concerted effort to include a gender dimension in advancing rights and promoting awareness of them. There should be a "women's perspective for national development than a national plan for women's development". To have rights only on paper and not in real life is futile. Women and girls need access to and control over resources to "fight gender inequality and discrimination, leading to healthier lives both for themselves and their families".

Gertrude Stein once wrote, "money is always there but the pockets change". Friends, we really need to invest in the pocket for a gender sensitive and a more equitable tomorrow that can help usher in peace to accelerate all facets of development.

### End Notes:

- Keynote Address on 'Population and Poverty in Asia and the Pacific' by Dr. Nina Puri at the 5<sup>th</sup> Asian and Pacific Population Conference NGO Forum on Population and Poverty in Asia and the Pacific, 12-13 December, 2002 at Bangkok.
- Official Development Assistance - Promotion of Human Rights and Gender Equality' by Dr. Nina Puri at International Symposium on

'Official Development Assistance for Population and Development' in 2005, China.

- Nancy Flowers. Human Rights Here and Now; Celebrating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- Forum on Marriage and the Rights of Women and Girls (Nov. 2001). Early Marriage: Sexual Exploitation and the Human Rights of Girls, (7)
- The 12 rights in the IPPF Charter on Sexual and Reproductive Rights
  - The right to life
  - The right to liberty and security of the person
  - The right to equality and to be free from all forms of discrimination
  - The right to privacy
  - The right to freedom of thought
  - The right to information and education
  - The right to choose whether or not to marry, and to found and plan a family
  - The right to decide whether or when to have children
  - The right to health care and health protection
  - The right to the benefits of scientific progress
  - The right to freedom of assembly and political participation
  - The right to be free from torture and ill treatment

**SECTION VIII**  
*Terrorism as a Deterrent to  
Peace and development*





# 36

## *War Against Terror as a Weapon for Controlling the World*

*Syed Shahid Husain*

War against terror has replaced cold war as global preoccupation. The United States is leading the charge. "America is at war". So begins President Bush's introduction to his administration's National Security Strategy, which was unveiled towards the beginning of this year. But the President's approach to making the US more secure has come at the cost of making many other nations feel less secure. In the name of war against terrorism, the sole power has with its precipitate actions destabilized the world and created dangerous situation for world peace. The end result is a more dangerous world, and an even more insecure United States.

The world has become a dangerous place in the wake of 9/11. Bush's strategists, one thought, might have reflected on the events of the last four years and corrected their strategic overreach. Instead, they have set about compounding their errors. The new strategy, justified by the "war on

terror,” reaffirms some of the United States’ most self-defeating policies. According to Noam Chomsky, the achievements of Bush Administration in inspiring Islamic radicalism and terror are quite impressive.

Muslims have been demonized. They do not hate the freedoms, which the Americans enjoy, but they certainly hate American policies generally towards the Muslims and particularly towards the Palestinians and Arabs. Some small groups in the Muslim world do not represent mainstream public opinion. Branding them as Islamic terrorists only compounds the problem by marginalizing the mainstream public opinion in the Muslim world that could be part of the solution.

If one were to conduct a worldwide poll, it would be unquestionably revealed that George Bush and his cohorts are viewed as the supreme band of terrorists. Hugo Chavez calls Bush the most dangerous man. Alexander Lukashenko of Belarus calls him the top terrorist. ‘To openly crush various states in different parts of the world and then get to Presidents and start killing them — I mean excuse me,’ he went on to add. Ask an ordinary Iraqi who lives under constant fear of being arrested, humiliated, tortured, disappeared or even killed. Or the Afghans who live in constant fear of destruction rained from heavens with gun ships and predators.

Who is a terrorist? Which organization or countries are sponsors of terrorism and so on? Unless there is an internationally accepted definition, there will be total anarchy. Somebody’s terrorist is someone’s freedom fighter. Terrorism is generally held to mean “the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to attain goals that are critical, religious or ideological in nature... through intimidation, coercion, or instilling fear, by targeting civilians.” The US routinely dubs Iran, Syria and a few other mostly Muslim countries as sponsors of terrorism. Iran belongs to the unholy trinity dubbed the ‘Axis of Evil’.

Then there are entities within states. LTTE of Sri Lanka has been designated a terrorist organization and so have the Maoists of Nepal, mainly to be credited with near overthrow of ruthless monarchy. The former is fighting for the rights of Tamils to have some autonomy within the federation and the latter is demanding the end of monarchy and an end to poverty. Maoists are fighting for the poor against an indifferent and ruthless regime, which mercifully has been replaced with a coalition of all political parties. Naxalites in some Indian states are also pitted on behalf of the forgotten poor against their governments they consider insufficiently sensitive. They can all be called terrorists and dealt with militarily. But is

that a solution? Relative peace has returned to Nepal only after mainstream parties established a dialogue with Maoists. Sri Lanka saw a few years of peace so long as their government was sincerely negotiating with Tamils.

Hamas, which has won fair and free elections in Palestine, is being treated as the worst scum of the earth. Miseries of occupied Palestinians have been compounded manifold as a punishment for choosing wrongly at the elections. So are the Islamists who won elections fair and square in Algeria. The country has been destroyed because the West did not like the democratic outcome.

Iraq was invaded mostly in the name of Weapons of Mass Destruction and a connection was sought to be established between Saddam's Government and Al-Qaeda. In Iraq the US has killed a large number of civilians, who according to some estimates exceed 150,000. Americans do not keep count of Iraqi dead or wounded. Not worth the effort and time. Besides it makes for bad publicity. Iraqis are dying on daily basis. Bomb blasts and the incipient civil war are a direct outcome of occupation. Civil war has been the American aim right from the beginning to justify their continued occupation, according to Robert Fisk.

It is now becoming obvious that nothing would change unless the occupation ends. Iraqis were the most well educated people with the largest number of doctorate holders among the Arabs and Muslims. Their country has been destroyed and they have been made homeless in their own country. According to Richard Drayton writing in *The Guardian*, the chaos and looting in Baghdad, the destruction of infrastructure, ministries, museums, the national library and archives were 'in part a mask for the destruction of the collective memory and modern state of a key Arab nation, to create a hunger for the occupier's supervision.'

Intellectuals have been hunted down. Asma Rashid writing in *Dawn* of 18.03.06 goes on to say that killing of Iraqi intellectuals is a systematic policy and 'US backed special units had started conducting strikes against leaders of the so-called insurgency. A force of paramilitary death commandos was formed and trained by veterans of the US' dirty wars in South America, including the former US Ambassador to Iraq John Negroponte.' She goes on to say, 'Horrendous torture, extra judicial executions and arbitrary arrests became the order of the day. Mutilated corpses littered the garbage dumps, and morgues overflowed while hundreds of people simply disappeared'.

In Afghanistan, the US has been doing no better. Before handing over to NATO southern parts of Afghanistan, according to Simon Jenkins,

'in their current farewell burst of machismo' Americans launched Operation Mountain Thrust. They slaughtered about 500 Afghans, mostly from the air and killing almost every one present. Jenkins goes on to say, the US 'is merely killing Afghans and recruiting their relatives to the Taliban cause.' (*Dawn/The Guardian News Service*)

State terrorism is much worse than the terror states are fighting. Israel has also been practicing it in all its horrendous manifestations. When Palestinians killed two of its soldiers and kidnapped one, Israel attacked Palestinians and killed a large number of civilians with aerial action and tanks and gunfire and captured half the cabinet members of Palestinian Government and a large number of their parliamentarians. When two more soldiers were kidnapped, it attacked civilian targets in a sovereign country that had nothing to do with the kidnapping.

When people of the Third World were looking forward to enjoying similar liberties as those enjoyed in the West, there has been a reversal. Liberties and human rights achieved by the people of the West after centuries long struggle are being sacrificed for the sake of security. Al-Azhar University of Egypt has given a *fatwa* advising all Muslims in the world to make a *Jihad* against invasion of American Forces.

The 49-page document encompassing national security defines two pillars. Only the second makes sense. It recognizes that the United States must "lead a growing community of democracies" to deal with challenges such as pandemic disease and terrorism; that promoting democracy and economic growth abroad enhance US security; and that reducing global poverty is a strategic priority.

It is the first pillar that is dangerous. It builds on the controversial National Security Strategy of 2002, which raised worldwide alarm with its expansive definition of the right to pre-emptive attack. Russia also appears to be keen to use the principle. So would perhaps a large number of other countries. Demonize any country or group of people and declare war.

The embrace of preventive war, for example, is rationalized by the long-accepted doctrine of pre-emption. Bush constructed a war on Iraq in part by arguing that Saddam Hussein's thirst for Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) constituted a grave and gathering threat to the region, and that after the overthrow of the Taliban in Afghanistan toppling him would deny Al-Qaeda a base of operations. Neither justification was true at the time. But in invading Iraq, Bush has created his own nightmare. Iraq is now a magnet for *jihadists*. And Iran appears more determined to develop nuclear weapons to forestall a fate similar to Iraq's.



Moreover, the strategy continues to justify pre-emptive strikes even if the intelligence about an imminent attack is inconclusive: "We do not rule out the use of force before attacks occur, even if uncertainty remains as to the time and place of the enemy's attack." The document also gives the bad guys warning of possible attack: "The world is better off if tyrants know that they pursue WMD at their own peril." States have always reserved the right to pre-empt an imminent attack, but this is a transparent cover for regime change.

Another dangerous policy reaffirmed in the document is the reliance on enhanced nuclear weapons as a cornerstone of US national security, even as the US continues to insist that other states not develop nuclear weapons to protect their own security. Double standards are nothing new to state policy.

Suicide bombs rather than chemical, biological or nuclear weapons are the most serious threats to the United States, according to a survey of top American foreign policy and terrorism experts. The pace of suicide strike around the world accelerated since 9/11. In a survey of foreign policy and terrorism experts, *Foreign Policy* magazine and Center for American Progress, a Washington think tank found that suicide bomb were rated the most likely method of attack by 67 per cent of those surveyed.

Why should people be driven to give the ultimate sacrifice of their life by going for suicide bombing? Why do they equate this desperate attempt of a desperate man with the weapon of mass destruction? Even if massive military power of drones, smart missiles, and bulldozers is brought to bear on them, it does not deter the prospective suicide bomber from giving the ultimate sacrifice of his life. The 'bombers' do not get anything. They die for the freedom of their land and people, and perhaps a certain reward in the world hereafter.

Desperation, helplessness, hopelessness, lack of mercy on the part of their oppressors and the perpetrators of death and destruction of ordinary people, their leaders and homes, sense of denial of justice, powerful enemies armed to the teeth with the latest weaponry, unjust international order, a prostrate United Nations whose Secretary General would rather keep the job than uphold the principle are some of the factors that drive perfectly sane people to sacrifice their lives and in the process impose some cost on their persecutors.

The response from their oppressors or occupiers is to refuse to listen to their desperate voices and rain a massive destruction. Israel for instance has adopted the policy of out-terrorizing the terrorist, which is what they

choose to call a desperate man or woman giving up his life, a terrorist. Terrorism of a powerful state is far worse than that of an individual or a group. It causes far greater damage and destruction, mostly of a collateral nature. What would you call the wanton destruction of houses of the heavily inhabited areas of Jenin by Israeli bulldozers? Within hours they made hundreds of Palestinians homeless. They were given barely a few minutes to save their lives. Has this policy succeeded in providing the much needed peace and tranquility that Israel seeks? State terror may have brought some reduction in frequency of attacks but no more than that. Uncertainty of the next suicide attack keeps the oppressors guessing and on their tenterhooks. They create a deadly fear of a lurking threat anywhere around.

Resistance to occupation should not be characterized as terrorism. "The right to self determination, freedom and independence, as derived from the Charter of the United Nations, of people forcibly deprived of that right, particularly peoples under colonial and racist regimes and for occupation..." would be a legitimate act to defend according to December 1987 United Nations General Assembly Resolution. Thus Palestinians, Iraqis and Afghans are living in occupied territories and their citizens have a legitimate right to resist. Suicide bombing is the only weapon of the weak against the military might of the powerful, blindly supported by the sole superpower.

These so-called terrorists' cry for help goes unheeded. The oppressors refuse to see the injustice inherent in their own policies. They simply refuse to listen. They increase their brutality and wreak more damage and destruction mostly from the skies whether it is on Afghanistan, Iraq or some other targets. Invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq represents the thinly veiled pretext of fighting terrorism. *'Bush At War'* by Bob Woodward shows that preparation was afoot to attack Iraq the moment neo cons had occupied the White House. Iran and Syria would have been the next targets, had Iraq not turned out to be such a disaster. Is it a mere coincidence that all the countries under attack have Muslim population? Is that a reaffirmation of the much-dreaded 'clash of civilization' thesis?

Killing by the occupiers with artillery shells, blasting from the skies with missiles and Apaches or bulldozing homes with people inside is legit. What is not legit is the killing with one's own body strapped with explosives. In both cases the damage is collateral. Only the innocent die. Israeli weapons are no more sacred than the weapons the poor and resourceless people possess.

Collective punishment imposed on innocent populace by either only enhances the standing of Islamist parties. Without much hope of change in their fortunes such groups resort to violence to achieve their political ends. They also like Hamas provide efficient local government as well as social services.

What has the West lost in its desire to occupy and destroy Palestine, Iraq and keep rest of the Middle East in thrall to itself? One definite loss is that of liberties that had taken the West centuries to achieve. Its lure as the paragon of human rights and freedoms, which were routinely denied to the people of the Third World, has been lost. When you read the human rights reports about the US or even Europe these days, one gets the feeling as if one is reading of the violations in Saudi Arabia, China or Egypt or any number of other third world brute dictatorships. But it is the US where people are being held incommunicado for months and years with access denied to courts and lawyers. Torture has become a state sponsored policy whether it is the prisoners in Guantanamo Bay, Abu Gharaib, or beating of boys by British troops, killing in cold blood 24 civilians including women and children in Haditha by US marines, or the targeted killing of Palestinian/Hamas leaders including a threat to kill their elected Prime Minister.

Liberties won after sacrifices made by past generations have all been forfeited to the imperialist whims of the Americans. Could one imagine that in the US one could be held incommunicado for years without access to the judicial system? Could one imagine that phony trials would be held before military tribunals, which even the court appointed military lawyer characterized as show trial? Freedom of speech has been reduced to a sick joke. All channels of TV meekly submit to the manipulation of the rulers and find nothing wrong in wanton aggression against two sovereign Muslim countries or the persistent attacks on their own liberties. Freedom of press and independence of judiciary have been exposed in the West in the wake of 9/11. They are equally susceptible to state control as the third world press and media. Embedded journalists are the order of the day.

A distinction has to be drawn between aggression and legitimate resistance. The two cannot be clubbed under the generic rubric of terror. To quote Noam Chomsky, the United States has adopted double standards and has rejected "the principle of universality". According to him, decent people apply to themselves the same standard that they apply to others.

Justice Robert Jackson, Chief Counsel for the United States invoked the same high standard of civilized conduct on the part of victors including the US, when he spoke at the Nuremberg Trial in the following words: -



“If certain acts of violation of treaties are crimes, they are crimes whether the United States does them or whether Germany does them, and we are not prepared to lay down a rule of criminal conduct against others, which we would not be willing to have invoked against us”.

The Tribunal defined war crimes and crime against humanity. It adopted a definition carefully so that crimes are crimes only if the allies do not commit them. Mr. Jackson's Chief Counsel for War Crimes, Telford Taylor explained that “to punish the foe — especially the vanquished foe — for conduct in which the enforcing nation has engaged, would be so grossly inequitable as to discredit the laws themselves. Self-exemption of the powerful from international law makes a mockery of the latter.”

Aggression is the supreme international crime as defined at Nuremberg. The policy of 'shock and awe' so inspired the United States while committing wanton aggression against a weak prostrate country that it broadcast the fire works on the TV across the globe. This was a classic case of state terrorism. The United States government is guilty at least of the crime of international terrorism.

The question is are we winning the war? Perhaps not. According to US magazine *Foreign Policy* and a Washington based think tank, the US is losing the war on terror and that a major new attack is likely within the next decade. The relative peace the world had seen during the few decades of cold war has been shattered.

What should be done? Democracy is the only answer particularly for the problems in the Muslim world. There is a widening disconnect between the rulers and the ruled. The rulers the US supports are oppressive and corrupt. Dictators and psychopaths are its allies in war against terror. Regimes, which routinely torture their citizens, and abet torture through a process of rending, never hold elections except when they are rigged, do not allow freedom of press and beat demonstrators including women and children, are allies of the Americans.

People want to be in control of their destinies. Islamists offer the choice to the people against corrupt and oppressive governments. Responsibility imposed by the demands of governance is likely to make these Islamist parties mature in outlook and careful in conduct.



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## *Terror in the Mind of God or God in the Mind of Terrorist?*

*Jasbir Singh Ahluwalia*

### I

**I**n this essay I shall be addressing the problems of that kind of terrorism, which is labelled as religious terrorism, that is, terrorism attributed to, or associated with, religion.

Terrorism of any kind, in any form, is deterrent, a threat, to peace and development. But equally formidable threat to lasting peace and development comes from counter terrorism in the sense that a vicious circle, a symbiotic relationship is created in which the two phenomena feed on each other.

There is "Terror in the Mind of God" says Mark Juergensmeyer in his recent book bearing that title. "*The Lord God is a Man of War*," declares the Christian identity leader Kerry Noble.<sup>1</sup>

Such conceptualization of religious violence, equated with, or occasioned by, upsurge in the world's religions, in different parts of the globe, implies that such religious resurgence has to be rolled back for restoring secular values, for reinforcing Modern Western Civilization with its inherent polarity between secularism and religion, for strengthening the United States as the politico-military champion against religious terrorism on the global level, and for accelerating the forces of globalization which is seen as the great historical force for levelling down ethnic, ethno-religious and religious identities that are perceived as the breeding ground for religious assertions. This is one scenario today.

The other opposite scenario may be termed as God in the Mind of the Terrorist, in the sense that the religious acts, labelled as terrorists acts by the opponents, are of the nature of religiously and morally justified reprisal against state terrorism, now outsourced and globalized by the US-led West that, singling out Islam, has, in the words of Osama bin Laden declared "War on God, His Messenger and Muslims".<sup>2</sup>

There being no meeting ground between these two extreme positions, it is, therefore, essential to comprehend the dialectics of contemporary social realities expressing itself out in these two opposite scenarios.

Three main characteristics constitute the dialectics of contemporary social reality in the world today; these characteristics have direct or indirect bearing on terrorism attributed or related to religion.

First, the class contradictions that predominated the larger part of the twentieth century have given place to ethnic, ethno-religious, and religious contradictions; whereas earlier the ethnic, ethno-religious, and religious contradictions were mediated in and through the class contradictions, now the class contradictions tend to be mediated in and through ethnic, ethno-religious, and religious contradictions.

Secondly, the last decades of the past century witnessed the failure of the Modern Western Civilization's secular ideologies — liberal democracy, nationalism, socialism, communism — that once held out to humankind the hope, in one or the other form, for redemption of society and state; hence the resultant 'incredulity toward metanarratives'<sup>3</sup> of progress and development, in the words of Jean-Francois Lyotard. The vacuum so caused by the betrayal of the secular ideologies came to be filled by religious effervescence and resurgence in different parts of the world, providing alternative religious ideologies for radical transformation of man, society and state, for ushering in a new world order, for bringing about

a new multi-focal global civilizational dispensation in place of the unifocal Modern Western Civilizations, now on the way out.

This brings us to the third characteristic of contemporary social reality: 'the Clash of Civilizations'<sup>4</sup>, propounded by Samuel Huntington in his well-known book *'The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order'*. This clash has become enmeshed with the clash between secular and religious ideologies, for the reason that unlike the Modern Western Civilization, the Eastern Civilizations are intertwined with religious beliefs, rituals and symbols. Religion in the Eastern Civilizations is instantiated in both personal and community life of the peoples. The Modern Western Civilization had, as its foundational category, the 'deified' reason that was supposed to reign supreme in nature, history and society, with the promise of bringing about a rational society and system, free from inequities and inequalities. The deified reason has betrayed its promise and so the Modern Western Civilization's claims of progress and development, which in reality should have brought about empowerment of the peoples, particularly the marginalized ones, also stand betrayed. Contemporary thinkers are, expressing the views that the new global civilization would have spirit as its foundational category. This also creates a natural affinity between religion and the new civilizational dispensation in the offing, between positively redemptive religious ideologies and the new, incoming civilizational order.

That the clash of civilizations, the clash between religious and secular ideologies, the clash between religious terrorism and counter terrorism are all enmeshed with each other is becoming clearer day after day. The US-led offensive, enlisting the support of countries after countries, in the name of counter terrorism, is deeper in implications than what it appears on the surface. The US President George W. Bush in his address to the Americans on the fifth anniversary of the September 11 attacks on World Trade Center stated that the United States was engaged in "a struggle for civilization" and that this was "the decisive ideological struggle of the twenty first century". Reacting to the address of Pope Benedict XVI on September 12, 2006 at the University of Regensburg, Germany, in which quoting a fourteenth century Byzantine emperor, the Holy Father said that Islam's Prophet Mohammad had brought to the world only what was "evil and inhuman", *The Indian Express* in its Editorial (September 15, 2006), rightly observed that this controversial address "may well be construed as Vatican's seal of approval on Samuel Huntington's famous clash of civilizations argument". If the most powerful highest secular authority (President Bush) and the highly venerated religious authority, both in tandem with each other, as it appears, conceive of religious terrorism

(particularly Islamic), and counter terrorism in terms of ideological struggle, then it becomes clear that the target is not simplistically so-called religious terrorism but what is at stake, for the perpetrators of counter terrorism, is the very survival of their civilization, which, in other words, means Modern Western Civilization. By globalising its counter terrorist campaign, in violent forms, the United States has succeeded in outsourcing its offensive against so-called religious terrorism or fundamentalism. For instance, till recently the condemnable terrorist acts on Indian soil were region-specific, situation-specific, context-specific, etc. But now, owing to the US-led globalization of counter terrorism, the terrorist acts in India have not only increased in momentum and frequency but have also become generalized, going beyond the earlier region-specific, situation-specific, context-specific character. Coming back to the dialectics of contemporary social reality in today's world, its fourth characteristic is pervasive effect of globalization, both as an economic dispensation and an ideology, cumulatively, eroding the group identities of ethnic, ethno-religious, and religious identities of the minorities and migrants in different parts of the world. Joseph Stiglitz, former Chief Economist at the World Bank, has attributed ethnic conflicts<sup>5</sup> to the discontents of globalization.

Globalization as an ideology has bigger potential, than its economic form, for sudden violent eruptions, often in ethnic and religious forms. Globalization is fast fostering a consumerist culture, propped up by credit card borrowings, the illusory prosperity of which is benumbing the voices of discontents, dissents and protests against the exploitative system and is de-sensitizing the marginalized, the deprived and the other have-nots to the earlier redemptive concepts of revolt and revolution leading to their collective mobilization which, now — thanks to globalization as an ideology — is suffering diffusion, dispersal and dissipation, but, nevertheless, getting repressed in subconscious mind. Like Freudian repressions, the repressed discontents have the potential of sudden volcanic eruptions — with religion, ethnicity, language and regional factors as the new rallying points — in unpredictable places, in unpredictable times, in unpredictable manners. The system, without identifying and coping with the causal factors, in their specificities, retaliates by artificially fitting such violent volcanic eruptions into readymade generalized stereotypes of religious fundamentalism, cross-border terrorism, internal mafiadom, etc. That simply wouldn't help.

Certain fallacious approaches compound and confound the comprehension of the dialectics of contemporary social reality in relation to the problems of religious terrorism.



The first and foremost fallacious approach is the one that considers violence to be innate to all religious traditions, implying that violence is embedded in the beliefs, rituals and symbols of all religions. Hence the proponents of such view see 'Terror in the Mind of God'. For instance, for them the Sikh symbol of *Khanda* (a double-edged sword) is a domesticized form of violence<sup>6</sup>, though Mark Juergensmeyer hastens to add that such religious symbols of violence, *qua* ritualized domesticization, become sanitized, getting stripped of their violent meaning in the process. Still such scholars who see violence at the core of some of the religious symbols of different faiths contend that the inherent proclivity of such symbols, when ritualized, tend to replicate themselves in existential terms in personal and social life of the faith community concerned. This is a lopsided view; rather ritualizations of religious symbols and images, taken from the struggles of a faith community, have cathartic (cleansing) effect on the faith followers.

Another fallacious approach to religious terrorism posits secularism against identity symbols of a religious community, particularly when that community is a minority community. Hence the French legislation banning the wearing of visible religious symbols such as Islamic headscarves, Sikh turbans, Jewish yarmulkes, etc., in public schools and work places on the ground that such practices, according to the French President Jacques Chirac are repugnant to "the principle of secularism" (*BBC News* -24<sup>th</sup> December, 2003).

There is still another fallacious approach to the problem that sees the phenomenon of religious resurgence as synonymous with upsurge in religious violence in different parts of the world.

But a deeper analysis of the two phenomena — religious resurgence and upsurge in religious violence — would reveal that though only temporally related, that is, contemporaneous, these are different from each other, having different root-causes; the dynamics of the one are different from those of the other. For instance, religious resurgence has strongly taken place, in most of the cases, not in countries with backward economies, but in fairly well-developed countries.

In the context of 'religious resurgence versus upsurge in religious violence', arise a few agonizing questions: Is religious violence really religious in nature? Another pertinent question is whether this expression — religious violence — is just a conjunction of two words that camouflages the violence of the superpower imperium at one place and the majoritarian imperium at another place. Is state terrorism against a weaker country justifiable simply because it is committed in the name of undoing religious

violence in the targeted country? In what category do we place the wiping out of the regime system of a weaker country by a superpower politically and militarily under the pretext of wiping out the weapons of mass destruction? Is the possession of weapons of mass destruction by a non-Western country more dangerous to World peace and development than their possession by a Western country? How do the defenders of American military attack, with some allies, on Iraq reply and respond to the critics who see in this attack a clash between Islamic civilization and Western civilization that grew out of Western Christendom. If this American attack is symptomatic of the clash of the two civilizations, that have a long history of head-on collision, then can counter terrorism mobilization under the stewardship of the United States succeed against Islamic mobilization the world over? In other words, can the worldwide Islamic mobilization be rolled back on the plank of counter terrorism mobilization? Is religious violence of a majority community, as in the case of Gujarat in India homologous to the cathartic, retaliatory violence of the targeted religious minority? Is the so-called religious violence an empowerment of religion through violence? Or sanctification of violence by religious motifs and symbols? Is religious violence due to politicization of religion? Or due to religious underpinning of politics? Is the reappearance of assertive religious consciousness a subordination of rational mode of thought and behaviour to religious dogma?

Almost all living religions of the world today have witnessed the rise of violent religious movements that have diverse aims and goals, depending upon the variables of the context and circumstance. In the Sikh praxis of the last two decades of the twentieth century, the rise of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindrawale — a cult figure of what has been described as Sikh fundamentalism — was integrally related to the Operation Bluestar — the attack by the Indian Army, under the then Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi's regime, on the Golden Temple Complex, Amritsar. In Japan, a stream of Buddhism, considered as the most pacifist religion, arose in the form of the Aum Shinrikyo movement that, allegedly, released poisonous gas in the Tokyo subway on March 20, 1995 killing a large number of the commuters. *Jihad* has emerged, with recharged energy, in the Muslim world. Violent religious movements in America have erupted in the form of Dominion Theology, Reconstruction Theology and Christian Identity Theology.

It is problematic whether upsurge of such violent religious movements are, directly or indirectly, internally or externally, related to

religious resurgence in the past few decades. However, one point is very clear. In most of the cases religious terrorism, caught in a vicious circle, in symbiotic relationship with counter terrorism, is retaliatory, seeking to deliver retributive justice to its opponents.

Contemporary religious resurgence reveals at least two streams therein. First the resurgent religions seek to provide alternative ideology for redemption of the human kind through realization of the transcendental values common to all religions and to rebuild a new world order on such commonly shared transcendental values, such as peace, harmony, equality, liberalism and pluralism — religious, social, cultural, economic and political. Seen from this angle the solution to religious conflicts, to religious fundamentalism, lies not in the Western-style secularism based on dichotomous world view but in religious pluralism becoming an essential component of the value system of a new multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-focal global civilization based on a holistic worldview. Modern Western civilization, instead of resolving its self-created antagonism between religion and secularism is, rather, fighting a rearguard battle, for its survival, against what it considered to be its enemy: religious resurgence confused with religious fundamentalism and religious violence.

Another stream in the religious resurgence, today, is two-pronged. On the one hand it strives to substitute new religious ideologies for the earlier, outdated, secular ideologies of the Modern Western Civilization; on the other hand it seeks to reshape the world order by imposing its own religious worldview on other peoples. Thus, the contemporary scene is marked by not only the clash between religious and secular ideologies but also the conflict between religious ideologies themselves; this adds to the complexity of the problem.

In the ultimate analysis, "the cure for religious violence" may "lie in a renewed appreciation for religion itself", as observed by Mark Juergensmeyer<sup>7</sup>.

## II

What is the way out of the vicious circle, referred to in the beginning, created by 'the terrorism versus counter terrorism syndrome'? Not intensification of the global offensive against religious terrorism. The solution lies in a radically different mindset, with a seven-pronged approach. First, the US-led globalised assault on religious terrorism in the



name, or form, of counter terrorism should be decentered (in postmodernist terminology); it would be easier to tackle and contain religious terrorism if it remains, context-specific, situation-specific, region-specific, etc. Secondly, the contradistinction between religious resurgence and upsurge in religious terrorism should be recognized. Thirdly, the dichotomy between religion and secularism, embedded in the Modern Western Civilization, should be transcended and sublated into religious pluralism that should be translated into the praxis of national polities of different countries. For instance, the laws such as the French legislation banning the wearing of visible religious symbols in public places, should have no place in a so-called 'secular' polity, which is, essentially, pseudo-secular dispensation. Fourthly, the group identities of different ethnic, ethno-religious, and religious communities should be respected and all such communities should be treated as co-equal partners, in their corporate capacities, in the national polities of their respective countries. Fifthly, with the gradual-and inevitable-withering away of the nation-states under the impact of globalization, the fetishized concept of a nation-state with rigid international boundaries should be dispensed with; the days of exclusivist national sovereignties, in the territorial dimension, are numbered, thanks to the growing interdependence on all levels, in all fields. Sixthly, with the rise in the cases of genocide throughout the world, in the name of ethnicity, culture, religion, etc., time has arrived to confer on the victimized community, a constitutional right to approach, for justice, the international penal tribunal, (envisaged in the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide), the jurisdiction of which over the member states of the UNO should be made obligatory by amending the aforementioned Convention (How shockingly surprising that despite so many cases of genocide in India since 1947, there is no mention of the expression genocide in the Indian Penal Code which treats such cases only as a crime of murder like any other murder case). Seventhly, accepting the reality of the clash of civilizations, today, this (clash) should be sublated into synergy of World civilizations in evolving a new global multi-focal, multi-cultural civilizational dispensation in which reason and faith, while retaining their relative autonomies, would become complementary to each other: religion becoming the matrix of new values for a new world order, and reason ensuring that the spirit of inquiry does not let the spirit of religion get encrusted with dogma.

#### End Notes and References:

<sup>1</sup>Kerry Noble, *Tabernacle of Hate: Why They Bombed Oklahoma City*, Prescott, Ontario: Voyageur, 1998, p. 206.



<sup>2</sup>Quoted by Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup>Jean-Francios Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

<sup>4</sup>Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Penguin Books India, New Delhi, 1997.

<sup>5</sup>Joseph Stiglitz, *Globalization and its Discontents*, New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 2003, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup>Mark Juergensmeyer, *op. cit*, p. 159.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 243.

The hostility between India and Pakistan over Jammu and Kashmir constitutes one of the most perilous threats to regional security and has the potential to imperil global peace and security. The intermittent commencement of peace process in Kashmir has been more allegorical than genuine and none was based on sound understanding of conflict management and conflict resolution. The peace-processes started by Lahore Declarations (1999) and Agra Summit (2001) marked a significant step forward since they kicked off the process of dialogue after years of lull. It was the first time since 1972 that the Indian and Pakistani leadership held detailed discussions on their home territories. But there was a considerable loss of momentum in the subsequent period. At the New Delhi-Srinagar front, several attempts at peace were made and India began peace talks with Hizbul Mujahideen in August 2000, but failed to achieve any breakthrough and the declaration of ceasefire by both the parties remained temporary.

Recently, in February 2006, Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh also invited all separatist and non-separatist groups for a round table conference to find a solution to the Kashmir issue but most of the separatist leaders refused to participate citing reasons such as “time was not conducive” or the “ongoing two-year-old peace process had failed to produce the desired results”. The question is, why is there a lack of consensus among the disputing parties on the issues of peace? The answer, which we discuss in detail in this study, lies somewhere in the conjunction of lack of trust, half-hearted attempts, a history of failed negotiations, a variety of goals and ambitions and incompatible tripartite claims of legitimate boundaries of sovereignty. Against this backdrop, we discuss the strategies of conflict management to create a milieu conducive for deciding on intricate issues, evaluate various options including the relevance of the Irish model for Kashmir, and finally, suggest measures for the resolution of the conflict.

### **Conflict Management in Kashmir**

The conflicting nationalism of Pakistan and India is interwoven with the demand for a separate Kashmiri identity which has transformed itself into nationalism with years of mobilization and struggle. Therefore, the nature of conflict in Kashmir requires a multi-layered peace-building framework which accommodates the aspirations of contesting national identities and acquires legitimacy among the Kashmiri people. Secessionist movements with irredentist roots die hard and are extremely resistant to any quick-fix solution. It has to be understood that there is a difference between conflict management and conflict resolution and while the short term strategy should be directed towards conflict management, it should be plugged in within the broader framework of conflict resolution. It is possible to contain violence and create a façade of peace through conflict management but this does not mean that conflict has been resolved.

In the case of Kashmir, the government of India has been successful in reducing the incidence of violence but has not moved to the level of reconciliation and resolution. It is the opportune moment to initiate a genuine peace process because agitators in Kashmir and instigators outside seem to be disposed to a consensual agreement. This is due to the new geopolitical reality. The Kashmiri today looks toward democratically mature and economically vibrant India as his (or her) ultimate destiny<sup>1</sup>. It is also evident to the parties that neither the UN and the international community nor insurgency and war can alter the territorial control of the respective parties. Hence, there is a general realization of the need to search for a creative solution which maintains the *de facto* territorial status but accommodates competing sovereignty contestations. Hence, President

Musharaff is talking of 'self-governance' while Manmohan Singh has thrown the dice of 'out of box solution' and 'treaty of peace, security and friendship'. But are these promises different from the previous ones? Where does Kashmir stand today?

Taking into account the intransigent stand of India and Pakistan on Kashmiri borders, it is not feasible to alter the Line of Control (LoC). For both the countries Kashmir has become an integral part of nation-building process, though its importance is more symbolic than substantive. It has become so emotive an issue that any compromise by the government of India is likely to be censored by the opposition parties as the sell-out of Kashmir to Pakistan. The condition is similar in Pakistan where military rule has found its *raison d'être* in the name of Indian threat to Kashmiri and Pakistani territory. Any attempt for the resolution of conflict therefore should not be aimed at redrawing the political boundaries and changing the territorial jurisdiction. Instead, a serious attempt should be made both by India and Pakistan to redress the grievances and aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) who have been alienated by years of political skullduggery and stratagem.

**Table 1:**

**Conflict Management and Conflict Resolution in Kashmir**

**Conflict Management**

**1. Multi-tier Dialogues and Negotiations**

- a. Quadrilateral :India Government with Kashmiri Representatives of official talks Jammu and Kashmir  
:Pakistan Government with Representatives of Azad Kashmir  
: India Government with Pakistan Government  
: Kashmiris (Both J&K and Azad Kashmir), India and Pakistan
- b. Track Two Diplomacy: Legal Experts, official or "formal" intermediaries: professional mediators, arbitrators, judges, or other official actors.
- c. Track Three Inter-cultural Dialogue: People to people, Media, Civil Society, Sports and other Social Networks

**2. Opening Channels of Communication**

**3. Development of Social Networks: An Infrastructure for Peace/ Relationship and Trust building**

**4. Ceasefire by all the Parties**

**5. Demilitarization / Arms reduction**

**6. Joint Patrol of Borders/ Presence of Third Party**

**Conflict Resolution**

**1. Autonomy/Self Governance**

**2. Joint Management: Evaluating the Irish Model**



The main contention in the Kashmir conundrum is the contending territorial claims of India and Pakistan and the demand for *azadi* by a section of people. It is not possible to ascertain what percentage of people support *azadi* in Jammu and Kashmir. This is especially difficult because *azadi* has different meaning for different people. In its maximalist sense it means secession but otherwise it can imply anything from autonomy to democratic participation and self-government. For Kashmiris, *azadi* refers to the whole of the old Jammu and Kashmir, to the Valley and then Muzaffarabad<sup>2</sup>. But there are other regions in Jammu and Kashmir which are either indifferent to or suspicious of the Kashmiris<sup>3</sup>. Balraj Puri regards the old state of Jammu and Kashmir as a meaningful political entity but laments that the intellectual and political leadership of the regions has failed to reach out to the other linguistic and ethnic groups in a spirit of mutuality and equity leading to the structuring of a federal and secular order that can help keep alive the historical sense of oneness of the state<sup>4</sup>. This provides an ideal case for the constitution of federal entity in Jammu and Kashmir. The biggest weakness of the liberation organization in the valley was isolating minorities, Hindus and Buddhists<sup>5</sup>.

There is no harmonious voice among the representatives of Jammu and Kashmir. Some represent *azadi*, others autonomous politics and the rest integration with India or Pakistan. Hurriyat is for *azadi*, National Conference (NC) and the People's Democratic Party (PDP) for autonomy and the Hindus in Jammu and Kashmir for integration with Pakistan. The All Parties Hurriyat Conference, which is an umbrella organization for non-conformist groups in Kashmir and has stayed outside electoral politics of state, lacks organizational coherence and a unity of approach. While the people in Valley and in Doda, Poonch and Rajouri are sympathetic to the cause of *azadi*, there is no unified movement and inter-factional rivalry is rampant in the valley. On several occasions the leaders of the JKLF and the National Conference were targeted by the fundamentalist factions of Hizbul Mujahiddeen and Lashkar-e-Toiba<sup>6</sup>. The factions backed by Pakistan openly follow the dictates of ISI in Pakistan while organization such as the JKLF openly renounces the idea of merger of Kashmir with Pakistan. The people in general are opposed to the idea of merger of Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan<sup>7</sup>. The discordant voice among Kashmiris is used by Indian as well as Pakistani governments to settle scores over others.

All this makes the peace process extremely complicated and attempts of peace have proved to be ephemeral. There have been a series of models and suggestions on the ways to resolve the Kashmir dispute. Starting from

the Security Council Resolution of 1948 and the Dixon plan of 1950, the peace models on Kashmir have a history of their own which merits some attention before we discuss the latest models.

### **A Brief History of Kashmir Peace Models**

The Security Council Resolution of April 21, 1948, stressed that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite. The Government of Pakistan should endeavour "to secure the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistani nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the State for the purpose of fighting".<sup>8</sup> After that "the Government of India should undertake that there will be established in Jammu and Kashmir a Plebiscite Administration to hold a plebiscite as soon as possible on the question of the accession of the State to India or Pakistan". The Resolution of the Commission of August 13, 1948, the Resolution of the Commission of January 5, 1949, the Resolution of the Security Council of March 14, 1950, and the Resolution of the Security Council of March 30, 1951, also emphasised the need for a cease-fire, for the demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and also for the determination of the final disposition of the state in accordance with the will of the people through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite under the Plebiscite Administration to be created by the Secretary General of the United Nations. The Resolution adopted by the Security Council at its 765<sup>th</sup> meeting on January 24, 1957, reaffirmed the Security Council resolution of March 30, 1951, and argued that "the convening of a Constituent Assembly and any action taken by it would not constitute disposition of the State in accordance with the will of the people of Kashmir expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations."<sup>9</sup> It was introduced by Australia, Colombia, Cuba, the United Kingdom and the USA, and supported by 10 members of the Council while Soviet Union abstained. These resolutions, except the 1957 one, had the general consent of India and Pakistan but after 1955 Kashmir became embroiled in the Cold War politics and the 1957 was a clear manifestation of that with the Soviet Union abstaining and taking India's side. The argument put forward by India was that Pakistan never withdrew its forces and tribesman from Kashmir and therefore, the issue of plebiscite does not arise. It should also be borne in mind that in its initial period the UN had a tacit policy of intervention only in cases where both the disputing parties agreed for such intervention. It was India which took the case of Kashmir to the United Nations.

In 1950, Owen Dixon, the Australian mediator for the UN in Kashmir, presented a proposal to the UN for the resolution of the conflict in Kashmir. He suggested the trifurcation of Jammu and Kashmir on communal lines and plebiscite for three zones separately: (1) the Valley and the Muslim majority areas of Poonch, Rajouri and Doda. Ladakh would be divided into two regions and the Muslims majority Kargil to go with the Valley; (2) Jammu to include Hindu districts of Ladakh and Leh; and (3) *Azad* Kashmir and the Northern areas. In the plebiscite, the people of these regions would have a choice of opting for either Pakistan or India. There was no third option of independence. He also suggested demilitarization of the whole Jammu and Kashmir and placing of international force there. In 1952, Frank P. Graham, a UN representative in the UN proposed a 12-point proposal known as "The Graham-UN Plan". It envisaged a UN supervised plebiscite and before that a reduction of troops in Kashmir by Indian and Pakistani governments. But this plan halted due to non-follow-up of demilitarization by both the governments and after 55 years this plan seems to be unfeasible now. Unwillingness of Pakistan to withdraw immediately from Kashmir and internal changes in Kashmiri administration since 1953 encouraged India to integrate the state and disregard the UN resolution. It is increasingly difficult for the United Nations to intervene if the disputing parties do not agree to the UN role and if the parties happen to be powerful countries.

Insisting upon some of the UN resolutions, the leaders of JKLF and Hurriyat Conference consider independence as the only realistic solution. With minor fluctuations, the JKLF proposes the following proposal for the resolution of the Kashmir dispute. Pakistan should allow the merger of Gilgit and Baltistan with *Azad* Kashmir which should be united with the Indian Jammu and Kashmir. An UN-backed referendum should be held to allow Kashmiris to decide their own fate. "The only practicable, peaceful, equitable, democratic and permanent solution of the issue...is to reunite the divided Jammu and Kashmir and make it a fully independent country"<sup>10</sup>. Both India and Pakistan should demilitarize and withdraw from the territory of Jammu and Kashmir. The unit should be declared an independent sovereign state representing all Jammu and Kashmir. Yasin Malik, the head of Indian part of the JKLF, submitted 1.5 million signatures of Kashmiri people demanding "self-determination"<sup>11</sup>. In the post 9/11 scenario, however, there has been a dramatic change in the international environment. There is an increasing realization in Pakistan as well as Kashmir that resolutions regarding plebiscite for self-determination of Kashmiri people are no longer valid. United Nation's Secretary General



commented that the UN resolutions on plebiscite have lost their relevance<sup>12</sup>. President Musharaff also conceded this point in his recent announcements about 'self-governance' at Davos.

There are two further suggestions regarding the permanent division of Kashmir: first, converting the LoC into a permanent international border and second, dividing Kashmir along Chenab lines. Converting the LOC into a permanent border will divide the people of Kashmir into *Azad* Kashmir and Indian Jammu and Kashmir permanently. However, how will this solve the problem is not really clear. This will only switch the *de facto* territorial status into a *de jure* one without addressing the conflicting interests of disputing parties. This is also insensitive to the demands and aspirations of the people of Kashmir. Therefore, a better strategy would be to convert the impregnable border into soft border and allow the transaction of goods and people across the borders without restrictions. Sumantra Bose contends that converting LoC into permanent border has the potential to escalate deadly conflicts between the two states<sup>13</sup>. Bose argues that "erasing or redrawing the line of control is neither feasible nor desirable. It is not feasible because it would violate the bottom-line position on sovereignty and territorial integrity of one or both states involved in the Kashmir dispute. Feasibility constraints aside, it is not desirable because shifting or eliminating the border, represented by the LoC, cannot provide a solution to the fundamental disagreement over legitimate sovereignty internal to J&K, but risks a grave exacerbation of local and interstate conflict arising from those disagreements."<sup>14</sup> Strobe Talbot has argued that the conflicts of self-determination and secession, however contested and contestable, should not be settled either by war of aggression or wars of secession as small fractious states emerging out of large repressive states may aggravate the problem instead of resolving it<sup>15</sup>. It has been seen in many cases that small states carved out of bigger states only shift the ethnic problem to a microcosm.

Coming to the Chenab formula, Sardar Sikander Hayat Khan, the Prime Minister of *Azad* Kashmir gave the idea of making the river Chenab rather than the LoC the dividing line.<sup>16</sup> According to this plan, the right bank of the Chenab will go to Pakistan and the left bank to India. *Pahari*-speaking population of Muzaffarabad, the valley, the Rajouri-Poonch region and also the mostly Hindu Akhnoor *tehsil* of Jammu will go to Pakistan, whereas the left bank houses, the Muslim-majority Kishtwar and Bhaderwah *tehsils* of Doda will go to India<sup>17</sup>. He has also suggested the creation of a self-governing entity of a democratic, secular and federal character for 15 years,



at the end of which a plebiscite may be held to decide whether they would like to join India or Pakistan or be independent<sup>18</sup>. But this approach borders on being unrealistic, given the geo-strategic situation in the continent. Neither India nor Pakistan is willing to forsake its territorial claim on Kashmir. Hashim Qureshi believes that even if India agrees to give Kashmir independence, Pakistan will oppose the move<sup>19</sup>. In the present situation it is very unlikely that either India or Pakistan will accept any proposal fraught with plebiscite. It is well known that Pakistan has been nurturing the dream of incorporating Kashmir in Pakistan and is opposed to the idea of independence of Kashmir. According to Qureshi, the ISI of Pakistan have masterminded tremendous bloodshed in Kashmir and have stifled the voice of Kashmiris for self-determination, allowing them only two options of either India or Pakistan<sup>20</sup>.

Realizing the unfeasibility of territorial and plebiscitary formulas, some have suggested models which give Jammu and Kashmir a status short of full international sovereignty under the joint suzerainty of India and Pakistan and complete internal autonomy to Kashmiris. Kathwari plan, discussed in detail in *A Way Forward-2005*, gave a proposal for joint suzerainty with the following details<sup>21</sup>: First, “three entities — Kashmir, Jammu, and Ladakh — would be established in the portion of the pre-1947 state now administered by India. These three self-governing entities would each take part in a body that would coordinate issues of interest to all of them, such as internal trade and transportation. Two entities — *Azad* Kashmir and the Northern Areas — would be established on the side now administered by Pakistan”<sup>22</sup>. An All-Kashmir body, consisting of representatives from all five entities, would coordinate areas of broader interest such as regional trade, tourism, environment, and water resources. Each of the new entities would have its own democratic constitution, as well as its own citizenship, flag, and legislature which would legislate on all matters other than defense and foreign affairs. India and Pakistan would be responsible for the defense of the entities, and the entities would maintain police forces to maintain internal law and order<sup>23</sup>. India and Pakistan would be expected to work out financial arrangements for the entities. Kashmiris can acquire Indian or Pakistani passports, depending on which side of the Line of Control they reside. The LoC will remain open for the free transit of people, goods, and services. There will be no alteration in the boundaries till India and Pakistan agree mutually to do that. Both India and Pakistan would demilitarize the area included in the entities and they cannot place troops on the other side of the Line of Control without the permission of the

other state. All displaced persons who left any portion of the entities would have the right to return to their home localities.

The Hizb-ul-Mujahiddin's mediator, Fazl-ul-Haq Qureshi, also submitted formal plans based on a quasi-independent Jammu and Kashmir and joint control by India and Pakistan<sup>24</sup>. 'The model,' Qureshi said, envisages a semi-sovereign status for Jammu and Kashmir, and joint control exercised by both India and Pakistan. Qureshi's announcements were similar to proposals made by other Kashmir-based figures on the Islamic right. When Dar declared ceasefire, then All Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) chief and Jamaat-e-Islami leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani pointed out that his organisation was 'not for the division of the state, (but) if in the talks the parties reach a consensus to divide the state, we will accept that.'<sup>25</sup> This was a startling departure from the APHC's formal position. However, the greatest weakness of this proposal is the idea of joint management and suzerainty over Kashmir. According to Noorani, India and Pakistan cannot even run a municipality jointly.<sup>26</sup>

At an internal level, with the potential to improve the relations between New Delhi and Srinagar, an autonomy plan was submitted by the National Conference. Regional Autonomy Plan, as it is known, was submitted by the former Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah in 2000. This plan seeks to restore the pre-1953 status of Jammu and Kashmir. The state will have special status under Article 370 of the constitution. The state will have its own constitution, flag, Governor (*Sadre Rayasat*) and Prime Minister, and the centre retains only external affairs, defence, finance and communication. For instance, fundamental rights in the Union Constitution would no longer apply to Jammu and Kashmir. This will be a part of separate constitution. The Supreme Court and the national Election Commission will also lose their jurisdiction in the state and the State Election Commission would be constituted.

This plan also gives more autonomy to three regions: Muslim majority Kashmir, Hindu dominated Jammu and Buddhist dominated Ladakh. This proposal has some significant merits and can be useful for the negotiations between "Delhi and Srinagar Axis." People's Democratic Party leader Mehbooba Mufti said that restoration of pre-1953 position in Jammu and Kashmir would be the biggest confidence-building measure for the people of the state, a demand strongly voiced by the previous National Conference government<sup>27</sup>. Hurriyat Conference Chief, Mirwaiz Omar Farooq, said, "If India considers Jammu and Kashmir as its head, I wonder where is the crown of this head given by late Prime Minister Jawaharlal

Nehru. ..Where is the crown, which was there before 1953? Restore that and you will see the increase of confidence of the people of the state towards New Delhi".<sup>28</sup> This autonomy proposal, however, is limited to internal autonomy in its scope and does not include *azad* Kashmir. But even this autonomy plan, as we will discuss later, was summarily rejected by the NDA government which insisted on adopting the reports of Sarkaria Commission for the autonomy of Jammu and Kashmir.

### Self-Governance and Autonomy

Pakistani President Musharaff's latest proposal of "self-governance" and "self- rule" has generated a renewed interest among the intelligentsia and politicians about its meaning and implications. At Davos he talked of "self-governance short of independence and beyond autonomy with the three parties jointly managing the area on both sides of the LoC".<sup>29</sup> He contended that this will "address concerns of all three parties - it will not redraw borders, it will not make the LoC permanent and make the LoC irrelevant". Here it becomes important to examine what is "self-rule" or "self governance" and how it is related to the concept of autonomy. The concepts of self-rule and self-governance are by and large ambiguous and have been defined "according to situation, whether of a people or tribe or a people within a territory".<sup>30</sup> A.G. Noorani argues that in Kashmir's case "autonomy" has become synonymous with Article 370, and a subject of partisan debate. To clarify the two concepts he quotes Thomas Musgrave who points out that "Autonomy involves self-government for a specific part of the population of a state, within which it may be established on either a territorial or personal basis. Autonomy appears to be able to satisfy the aspirations of particular ethnic groups while preserving the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state, and is, therefore, often suggested as a means of resolving the conflict between demands for ethnic self-determination and the principle of the territorial integrity of states. Some jurists have argued that it should be considered as an alternative form of self-determination at international law".<sup>31</sup> Bose suggests the maximum autonomy to Indian-held Kashmir on lines of the 1952 Delhi agreement between Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah. He contends that substantial and real self-rule short of sovereignty is a *sine qua non* of conflict resolution in Kashmir. Suksi Markku, a Finnish jurist, defines "autonomy as self-government" because "autonomy culminates in the question of self-government". The local self-government implies elected assemblies; meaningful powers for the unit concerned; safeguarded territorial boundaries and adequate financial resources derived from the power to tax.



It must have a legal personality (as corporations do) and the independence of "elected decision-making bodies".<sup>32</sup> For him real autonomy ensures self-governance and Melissa Magliani regards the autonomy model of South Tyrol as "model of self-governance".<sup>33</sup> Muzaffar Hussain Baig, Kashmir's Deputy Chief Minister distinguishes between autonomy and self-governance concept. In the case of Kashmir, he considers Article 370, as adopted in 1949, as basis of self-governance and autonomy is what Delhi Accord of 1952 conceded. Internal autonomy concerns "Delhi-Kashmir" while "self-rule appears to be aimed at finding a solution of the Kashmir problem without advocating the state's accession with Pakistan or diluting India's sovereignty as he (Musharaff) has himself stated that plebiscite and independence are not the option for the resolution of the Kashmir issue."<sup>34</sup> Mirwaiz Omar Farooq also once pointed out that "an autonomous region with the other side being a party to it could address the issue" and satisfy all sides.<sup>35</sup> However, the idea of joint management suggested by Musharaff, according to A.G Noorani, is unworkable. He considers the Irish model of peace and autonomy as valuable for Kashmir.

Similar to Irish Peace Process, Noorani suggests the creation of a 'Forum' which will be deliberative without any power to determine the conduct, course or outcome for the negotiations. This Forum can help evolve a broad consensus on (a) the amount of powers that mark the autonomy or self-governance for both parts of the state; (b) institutional links between them; (c) provision for conflict resolution; and (d) the Treaty.<sup>36</sup> Kashmiris would be included in the first two deliberations while the last two would be exclusively for Indian and Pakistani governments to settle.

### **Irish Model for Kashmir**

The Irish model of peace has been suggested by various scholars as the most suitable one for Kashmir. Former US President Bill Clinton recommended the resolution of Kashmir problem on the lines of Northern Ireland's Good Friday agreement of April 10, 1998.<sup>37</sup> Sumantra Bose and A. G. Noorani have also suggested the Irish model for the resolution of Kashmir conflict. The comparison of Kashmir to Northern Ireland is based on the fact that in both the cases there were contesting visions of sovereignty and a kin-state was involved with irredentist claims from outside. Moreover, the origins of both Kashmir and Irish problem rest in the imperial past of Great Britain. In 1937 when Ireland became an independent state the Northern Ireland peninsula with two-third of protestant population remained under British sovereignty. It is interesting to note that the demographic percentage has changed drastically in the Northern Ireland



and Catholics now constitute 42 per cent of the total population. The majority of the protestant community identified themselves with Britain not Ireland. But the Catholics considered themselves Irish. The Catholics protested against the oppressive and discriminatory policies of Ulster (Protestant Party) and a civil war began in the 1970s. A militant wing of Catholics, Irish Republic Army (IRA) led the violent attacks on loyalist protestant group and the British army, employed to control the situation. The peace process started in the late 1980s culminating in "Good Friday" Agreement of April 1998. They developed very elaborate designs, forums and institutions to settle this problem.

**Table 2**  
**Comparing Ireland and Kashmir**

	<b>Kashmir</b>	<b>Ireland</b>
Issue	Sovereignty dispute/ conflicting ethnic nationalism / territory	Sovereignty dispute/ conflicting ethnic nationalism
Controller of disputed territory	India and Pakistan	England
Basis of sub -nationalism	Ethnicity	Intra-religious divisions
Territorial subnationalism (Plebiscite)	Not held. No agreement on this issue	Voting on agreement plebiscite postponed
Main demands of disputants	Independence, remain under Indian jurisdiction, merge with Pakistan	Merge with Republic of Ireland, remain under British jurisdiction
Colonial rulers	Britain	Britain
Source of terror	Indigenous and Pakistan backed terrorism	Irish mainly.
People's opinion	A large number of People for secession	Majority of people pro-UK
Common supra -national organizational membership	SAARC ineffective	European Union. Very effective
Historical relations between two countries	Rivals which fought 4 wars in nearly 60 years	Hostile but without recent wars

They constituted a Forum for Peace and Reconciliation with only deliberative powers without any power to determine the conduct, course

and outcome of the negotiation<sup>38</sup>. Strand 1 of the agreement related to the internal set up and government structure<sup>39</sup>. The Agreement recognized the legitimate claim of all the parties. A common legislature of 108 members called Northern Ireland Assembly was constituted in which Protestants and Catholics are represented in proportion to their population percentage. The people who rejected any one of these categories have also been given proportional representation. Cross-community consent is needed to pass legislation. The executive is headed by a “first minister” and a “deputy first minister”.<sup>40</sup> Both the communities have equal representation in the cabinet. Inter-community consent and consensus is at the crux of the decision-making process. Bose defines the structure as “consociational” reflected in power-sharing between representatives of various political segments in a divided society.

Strand 2 of the agreement is related to the cross-border dimension of the Northern Ireland. After the Good Friday Agreement the Republic of Ireland amended the constitution to “modify its claim to Northern Ireland and accepts that British sovereignty over Northern Ireland can yield to Irish sovereignty — that is, unification of the island of Ireland — only if and when a majority of Northern Ireland's people vote in favour of such a change.”<sup>41</sup> Thus, the provision of plebiscite has been left open. This can prove to be extremely dangerous if Catholic population grows with the same rate and an Irish unification movement comes up again in future. To give an institutional design, a North South Ministerial Council has been set up. This consists of ministers from Northern Ireland's autonomous power-sharing government and their counterparts from the Republic of Ireland<sup>42</sup>. It has the power to implement policies of common concern which are non-controversial. This gives a confederal character to the relationship between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.

Strand 3 creates two important institutions: British Irish Council, chaired by the Prime Minister of Britain and Ireland and the British-Irish Inter-Governmental Conference chaired by the Foreign Minister of Ireland and the Secretary of State of Britain.

In comparing the cases of Kashmir and Ireland we find striking similarities but there are some important differences. One of the most striking differences is the people's opinion. Given the protestant majority in Northern Ireland, majority of the people supported the jurisdiction of Britain. This is not the case in Jammu and Kashmir. There is no reliable survey to quote, but a good number of Kashmiris, especially Muslims, support independence. And that is the reason why the Government of India

does not want to conduct any referendum or plebiscite in Kashmir on the issue of deciding its status. Therefore, the situation is much more complex in Kashmir. Similarly, the historical relations between India and Pakistan are not the same as the relations between Ireland and Britain. India and Pakistan fought four wars within a short span of 50 years. Therefore, the idea of joint management of territory or the creation of joint institutions, as suggested by many, may not be easily replicable in the case of Kashmir. A. G. Noorani points out that India and Pakistan cannot jointly run even a municipality; Musharaff may well forget joint management<sup>43</sup>. Finally, with the coming of the European Union, the issue of sovereignty got a wider definition and meaning. There was pressure on governments to settle the bilateral problems. The situation in Kashmir and South Asia is different. The regional association of South Asia, the SAARC, is not a very effective organization and it cannot play the role of European Union for the dispute resolution. However, the Irish Peace model can throw some important lessons on the process of conflict resolution, especially the way multiple issues were negotiated and actors brought to table in 3 Strands.

Table 3  
Irish Peace Process

	Issues	Parties	Type of Agreement
Strand 1	Internal Political Set Up within Northern Island	Protestant, Catholics and Non-aligned and others	Consociational
Strand 2	Cross-Border Dimensions of Ireland (Northern and Republic of Ireland)	Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland	Confederal
Strand 3	Institutional Linkages involving all the people and Parties	Governments of Britain, Ireland and Northern Ireland	Shared Sovereignty

For Kashmir, the Step 1 can be the internal dialogues on autonomy among various Kashmiri groups and actors from four identifiable regions: Azad Kashmir, Kashmir Valley, Jammu and Ladakh. The Regional Autonomy Council report of National Conference and Kashmir in the pre-1952 period can provide useful guidelines here. But this has to be complemented with proposals for Azad Kashmir too. In the Step 2, both the governments of India and Pakistan will deal with the Kashmiri groups and their demands. At this stage, the issue of autonomy can be discussed. Scholars and activists such as Sumantra Bose and Kamal Mitra Chenoy argue that to establish a rapprochement and restore the trust of the



Kashmiri people, the pre-1952 maximum autonomy model has to be revived. Finally, Step 3 will include exclusively the bilateral issues between India and Pakistan related to Kashmir. The hard issues like demilitarization, denuclearization, soft-border or porous LoC, joint management and the way to guarantee autonomy should be negotiated. The involvement of a third party to guarantee autonomy becomes indispensable. About the role of third party, Noorani rules out the role of the UN or the International Court. Instead he suggests that the guaranteed autonomy should have provision through which each country can move to an ad hoc international tribunal in case there is a grave violation of state's autonomy by any country. But all this will require tremendous will power and effort on the part of Indian government and major political parties.

The central government's recent policies on Kashmir can clearly be demarcated between the integrationist, centrist and autonomist. While the BJP and its allies demand complete integration of Jammu and Kashmir with India, the Left Parties are in favor of some sort of autonomy on the lines of Regional Autonomy Plan of the National Conference. The stand of Congress is somewhere in between. Hence, it is not easy for the centre to chalk out a coherent strategy given the coalition of parties in government and pestering opposition. This has indefinitely delayed the evolution of a well-defined policy on the peace process in Kashmir.

### **Kashmir Talks: Loss of Momentum?**

The action of governments should be measured on two fronts: progress in the bilateral relationship between India and Pakistan and improvement in relationship between Delhi and Srinagar. The Lahore Declaration of February 1999, based on the Shimla Accord of 1972, stressed on a peaceful and bilateral resolution of all problems related to Kashmir. This was a milestone in the history of Indo-Pak peace process since two leaders for the first time after 1972 faced each other in one of their home turfs on the bilateral issues. Earlier they had been meeting either in the SAARC or the UN summits. In Lahore, both the states agreed to intensify their efforts to resolve all issues including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, to refrain from intervention and interference in each other's domestic affairs and strengthen their composite and integrated dialogue process for an early and positive outcome of the agreed bilateral agenda<sup>41</sup>. They also committed to the objective of universal nuclear disarmament and confidence building measures for improving the security environment in the region. But this agreement failed in the wake of Pakistani intrusion in Kargil. The Agra Summit was the next direct high level meeting between the leaders of the



two countries on July 14, 2001. No significant agreements were reached in the summit except that they decided to have further talks and negotiations. Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee during the regional summit in Islamabad in 2004 agreed to hold composite dialogue to resolve the Kashmir dispute. This was further reaffirmed during Musharraf's visit to New Delhi in 2005. In a landmark decision India and Pakistan have agreed to launch a bus service in April 2005 from Srinagar to Mujaffarabad, across the ceasefire line which divides Kashmir. Both the countries are making efforts but they are likely to hit many roadblocks once the Kashmir issue is touched upon. Official negotiations continued through 2004 and 2005 but there seems to be no breakthrough on anvil.

At the Delhi-Srinagar Axis, the Indian Government has not made any significant progress. This method of managing ethnic conflict by control is extremely dangerous and can only exacerbate the crisis. It has the potential to alienate the people further and fuel the insurgency. The Government should move from its strategy of "conflict control" to "conflict management" and from there to "conflict resolution". But the track record of the government has been dismal. In 2000, the Union Cabinet of the NDA government unanimously rejected Jammu and Kashmir Assembly resolutions seeking to restore the pre-1953 constitutional position in the state on the ground that "acceptance of the resolution would set the clock back and reverse the natural process of harmonizing the aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir with the integrity of the nation".<sup>45</sup> The response of other parties was no better. The AIDMK General Secretary, Jayalalitha went to the extent of demanding the dissolution of the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly and imposition of President's rule in the state and called it a "condemnable resolution" on autonomy.<sup>46</sup> The position of Congress was no better. The Congress spokesperson at the time, Ajit Jogi criticized the resolution as "unsustainable and untenable" adopted by an integral constituent of the NDA Government.<sup>47</sup> The Samajwadi Party leader Mulayam Singh said, "The demand for autonomy has set into motion a very dangerous trend as similar demands have started surfacing in Punjab and other regions that would lead to the disintegration of the country." This reflects the general attitude at Centre towards Kashmir. It seems there is a general apathy across the parties on the issue of Kashmir.

The Government of India also failed to follow through a dialogue process. As we have seen, the NDA Government could not sustain its dialogue with the Hizbul Mujahideen in 2000. The all-party roundtable conference called up by Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, in New Delhi

on February 25, 2006, was boycotted by most of the separatist groups such as the moderate Hurriyat Conference, the Democratic Freedom Party (DFP), the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), the People's Conference, the Kashmir Bar Association and the breakaway Hurriyat Conference. They declined to attend the roundtable conference giving the reason either that the time was not convenient or that the ongoing two year old peace process had not produced desired results. Hurriyat Chairman, Syed Ali Shah Geelani said that he would not attend the meet since the ongoing two-year-old peace process had failed to produce the desired results<sup>48</sup>. Democratic Freedom Party chief, Shabir Ahmed Shah declined participation in the conference saying time was not conducive for holding such a meet. Moderate Hurriyat Conference leader Mirwaiz Omar Farooq too decided to stay away from the roundtable, saying that the time was not appropriate to convene such a meeting which would only "create confusion".

Recently, Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh has directed the Home Ministry to set up a high-level committee to review all cases of detention in Jammu and Kashmir. The committee recommended release of 40 detenus out of total 450 which was considered inconsequential in the Valley. There has been an increasing demand to withdraw stern laws such as the Public Safety Act (PSA), Disturbed Areas Act and Armed Forces Special Powers Act. But the government has turned a deaf ear to such demands in the name of national security. The PSA is being misused by the armed forces which can detain or arrest without any evidence or justification. The Disturbed Areas Act and Armed Forces Special Powers Act provide extraordinary powers to the military and paramilitary forces which can open fire and destroy property with impunity. The State Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act begun in August 2001 was extended to all six districts of Jammu region. It makes innocent people vulnerable. A security person can arrest or shoot anyone, blow up a house merely on the opinion that such persons may pose a threat to the country. By virtue of this Act, security forces enjoy full fledged impunity. Despite constant demands by the Human Rights Organizations, no attempt has been made to repeal such laws. The National Human Rights Commissions has little jurisdiction over the military and para-military forces who are shielded by many laws. The separatist groups have also been complaining of the dual policy of the Indian Government. First it promotes militants to denunciate violence and indulge in dialogue, but once they do it, the government ignores them saying they do not represent the mass opinion. This has created disillusionment among Kashmiris, especially ex-insurgents, many of whom denounced violence and turned moderate after government promises.

If the moderate factions and civil society groups are not involved, it is likely that they will either be marginalized or swerve towards fundamentalism. Ironically, when we compare the case of Kashmir with that of ongoing peace-process in Nagaland we find that the government is less stringent in its approach to the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) than it is to the separatist groups in Kashmir. Nagas are still having armed camps in Nagaland but the government has been negotiating with them since 1997 outside India in Bangkok. This is in contradiction to the government policy in Kashmir where it clamps a precondition that it cannot talk to active militants. For instance, Jihadis and Mujahideens are anathema for the government because they are Islamists. The irony is once militants surrender, the government considers them unworthy for negotiations.

## Conclusion

The government should move beyond its strategy of just containing violence and grab the opportunity to understand the demands and political aspirations of the people. It is an apposite moment because agitators in Kashmir and instigators outside seem to be converging towards common goals. It is increasingly being realized by the people and the groups in Kashmir that the UN or the international community cannot do much and violence has created more problems than it has resolved. They also understand that, given the new geo-strategic situation, any alteration of border or shifting of territory is unrealistic. President Musharaff of Pakistan and Mirwaiz Omar Farooq of Hurriyat Conference have put forward new proposals that indicate a more flexible approach. Therefore, this paper suggests that Government of India should establish ceasefire with the militants and talk to them without any further delay and withdraw ruthless laws such as the Public Safety Act, Disturbed Areas Act and Armed Forces Special Powers Act.

Finally, we cannot have a resolution based only on autonomy which separates the two Kashmirs irrevocably. A solution that allows the unification of Kashmir while leaving the scope for political influence of both the contending countries could be the only realistically acceptable solution. The Irish model of peace and autonomy throws some useful lessons for Kashmir.

The much touted “self-government” in its maximalist form can mean nothing but the restoration of provisions under Article 370. Article 370 in its original form implies self-government short of independence. According to the original provisions of the article, only defence, communication and foreign policy were to remain under the central government. If this article is



restored in its original spirit it would imply full self governance. This will reestablish autonomy, self-governance, and undo the wrongs so brazenly perpetuated since 1953 when the Sheikh was arrested. However, just reinstating the article in its original form will not restore the confidence of the people who fear that this may be abused again by the Centre. Therefore, it should be guaranteed by some in-built mechanism empowered to enforce its decision if one party trespasses autonomy provisions. This will not only restore the confidence of Kashmiris towards Indian government but also strengthen the democratic federalism within India.

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- <sup>6</sup>See Sumantra Bose, Kashmir: Roots of Conflicts, Paths to Peace, Vistaar Publications, Delhi: 2003.
- <sup>7</sup>Hashim Qureshi, op.cit.
- <sup>8</sup>Security Council Resolutions, available at:  
<http://www.contactpakistan.com/kashmir/kashmir-resolutions.htm#1st>
- <sup>9</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>10</sup>JKLF sent this statement to Reuters. See Daily Times, July 24, 2002 available at:  
[http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=story\\_24-7-2002\\_pg7\\_22](http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=story_24-7-2002_pg7_22)
- <sup>11</sup>See <http://www.milligazette.com/Archives/2005/16-30Apr05-Print-Edition/163004200521.htm>
- <sup>12</sup>See <http://www.pildat.org/eventsdel.asp?detid=78>
- <sup>13</sup>See Sumantra Bose, op. cit.
- <sup>14</sup>Sumantra Bose, op. cit. pp. 262-263.
- <sup>15</sup>Strobe Talbott quoted by Sumantra Bose, Kashmir: Roots of Conflicts, Paths to Peace, p. 262
- <sup>16</sup>K. Balagopal, 'What Will They Do to Kashmir Now?', Economic and Political Weekly, June 21, 2003. Available at:  
<http://www.epw.org.in/showArticles.php?root=2003&leaf=06&filename=5941&filetype=html>



<sup>17</sup>ibid.

<sup>18</sup>ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Hashim Qureshi, op.cit., p. 320.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid, p. 325. Hashim Quereshi and Maqbool Butt founded the JKLF. They operated from Pakistani Occupied Kashmir (POK). In 1972, Quereshi masterminded the hijacking of an Indian airlines Boeing and was locked up in Pakistani jails for nine years before being acquitted. Expelled from Pakistan he took refuge in Holland. He alleges that he was tortured by Pakistani ISI for his unequivocal position that Kashmir belongs neither to India nor Pakistan but to Kashmiris.

<sup>21</sup>These details of Kathwari plan are available at:

[http://www.kashmirstudygroup.net/awayforward05/p3\\_awayforward05.html](http://www.kashmirstudygroup.net/awayforward05/p3_awayforward05.html)

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Praveen Swamy, 'India and Pakistan: Another season of hope', Frontline, July. 07 - 20, 2001

<sup>26</sup>A.G. Noorani, 'A Working Paper on Kashmir', Frontline, March 24, 2006, Chennai, pp. 51-54.

<sup>27</sup>See Rediff News, November 16, 2005, 18:58 IST, available at:

<http://www.rediff.com/news/2005/nov/16jk.htm>

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>A.G. Noorani, op. cit., pp. 51-54.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Thomas D. Musgrave, Self-determination and National Minorities; OUP; pp. 207-8. Quoted by A.G. Noorani, op. cit. pp. 51-54.

<sup>32</sup>A.G. Noorani, op. cit, p. 51.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>*Greater Kashmir*, February 2, 2006. Quoted by A.G. Noorani, op. cit, p. 51.

<sup>35</sup>*The Statesman*, October 2, 2002.

<sup>36</sup>A.G. Noorani, op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>37</sup>Faisal Yousaf, Kashmir: An Array of Options, Kashmir Institute of International Relations, Islamabad, 2004, p. 28.

<sup>38</sup>See A.G. Noorani, op.cit.

<sup>39</sup>Sumantra Bose, op.cit., p. 211.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., pp. 212-213

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 213

<sup>43</sup>See A.G. Noorani, op.cit.

<sup>44</sup>See *Hindustan Times* report at [http://www.hindustantimes.com/news/181\\_254953,001300430002.htm](http://www.hindustantimes.com/news/181_254953,001300430002.htm)

<sup>45</sup>*The Tribune* Chandigarh, July 5 2000

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup>*The Tribune*, February 22, Chandigarh, India.

## *Terrorism as a Deterrent to Peace and Development*

*Han Sein*

What is terrorism? There are some who might, and do, argue that in today's political climate that question is difficult to answer. The oft-quoted phrase "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" is frequently trotted out to claim that defining terrorism depends largely or entirely on which part of the political spectrum you stand. Yet we believe that it is possible not only to define terrorism, but, having defined it, to analyze it and offer some answers to the questions of why it arises, and perhaps even to offer some possible solutions to this ugly phenomenon of today's political climate.

First, let us try to define what terrorism is, and what distinguishing characteristics terrorism has. At its core, terrorism is brutally simple — it aims to seize power, either direct or indirect power, through the fear caused by its terrorist acts. The power may be direct, in

that the terrorists seek to overthrow the Government and rule in their place: or the power they seek may be more subtle and indirect, in which the terrorists blackmail the Government not to carry out this or that policy in foreign affairs, to release certain prisoners, to pay direct or indirect ransom, etc.

Thus we can now see why terrorists do terrorist acts — it is their reason for existence. Terrorists become terrorists not because they have popular support, but precisely because they do not have popular support. The terrorist model of Government is the blind adoration of 10 per cent of the people who are their followers and disciples, and the frightened acquiescence of the remaining 90 per cent of the people who live in a state of permanent fear. And to create this fear, the terrorist has to carry out acts of terror — the actual amount of dead caused by a terrorist act is not of great importance to a terrorist, but the amount of shock, public fear and uncertainty that a terrorist act causes is of the greatest importance to him.

The second distinguishing mark of the terrorist is that for him there are no neutrals in his war: you are either for him hundred per cent or you are his enemy. This is why a terrorist does not hesitate to target civilians, for in the mind of a terrorist there are no civilians.

### **How does terrorism affect Peace and Development?**

First, the actual cost of terrorism to a country's economy is greater than appears on the surface. The goal of terrorism is the creation of a climate of uncertainty. It aims to make sure that there is no surety - in other words, to instil the thought into the minds of the people that nobody and nothing are safe at any time or place. In such a climate of uncertainty it is not at all surprising that business does not flourish. Since, too, terrorism focuses its attacks mainly on 'soft' targets such as the tourism industry and its offshoot, the hospitality industry, there will be little or no growth in the service sector, the tourism sector, or the entertainment sector. Such a climate of fear and gloom usually creates an exodus of talent from the terrorism-afflicted area, which is usually to the benefit of the country of destination but far to the detriment of the afflicted country. With the exodus of talent usually comes a decline in the standard of education, which in turn causes a further exodus, thus increasing the vicious cycle. The overall cost to the human resources of a country through terrorism is both large and long-lasting.

Next, terrorism also causes long-term damage to the economy of the afflicted state, even for some years after the terrorism has ended. Not only do insurance and interest rates for that area stay higher for years, but also investor confidence and business planning fall.



Finally, one of the most pernicious side effects of long-term terrorism in a country is that it tends to polarize the political spectrum. If we look at Northern Ireland as a case study, we will see that even the (comparatively) mild terrorism which that area has suffered has, over the past three decades, caused a radical polarization in both the electorate and the political parties, so that the moderate voices and moderate political opinions are either shouted down, ignored, marginalized, expelled or even assassinated. We can see many similarities to this in other countries afflicted by terrorism.

Terrorism creates cruelty: cruelty breeds fear: fear — sometimes - creates a backlash: and backlashes create repression. In history we see many examples of terrorism giving birth to a reactionary dictatorship which itself practices terrorism, the terrorism of state -sanctioned fear. But this type of Government still manages to survive because it has a powerful argument — "No matter how bad we are, our opponents, the terrorists, are far worse".

When terrorism hijacks a Government it becomes an even greater threat than before, because it now has a safe haven to breed and multiply. Afghanistan is an excellent example. In this connection we must note that a terrorist organization does not actually need to take over a Government to influence it. If it can blackmail and terrorize the Government with threats, and that Government is too weak to resist, then it becomes a 'shadow government' which can demand that the actual Government turn a blind eye to its activities in the country, conduct a certain course in foreign policy, etc.

Terrorism continues to defy the attempts of the international community to eliminate it as it raised its ugly head again in Mumbai and elsewhere recently. We are of the view that it is only through the involvement of every community of people that we can be forewarned in time of the impending onslaught of terrorists act. Myanmar fully supports the international efforts to eliminate terrorism. In this regard we are fulfilling our obligations required under Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). We are also taking the necessary measures as required under Security Council resolution 1261 (1999).

Now is the time when the entire people of Myanmar are building a peaceful, modern and developed nation according to the seven-step Road Map laid down on 6 September 2003. But there are some destructive elements and terrorists within and without the nation who cannot bear to see the internal forces working in unity and conceit for national development. These elements, in cahoots with foreign media, are

plotting through various ways and means to destabilize the nation. They are always attempting to tarnish the image of the government and mislead the innocent people by hurling accusations at the government, by inventing stories and rumours and by distributing anti-government leaflets.

These steps reflect our firm commitment to the realization of the democratic aspirations of the people of Myanmar. The roadmap takes into account the complex situation obtaining in the country, one where more than one hundred national races live together. Myanmar is faced with many daunting challenges and is emerging from long insurrection. Lasting solutions to internal problems can only be generated from within the country. I am fully resolved to carry out the transition to a new era. I remain confident of your understanding and continued support as we strive for a successful transition.

Circa 1988, the nation's economy was decline and politically it was near collapse. Unavoidably, the Armed Forces had to take over State responsibilities. Emphasis was laid on national reconsolidation. At the same time, efforts have been made for developing border areas and national races. The Border Areas and National Races Development Central Committee was formed with the Head of State as Chairman. Development plans are implemented with might and main. So far, the State has spent over 65,000 million Kyats in developing border areas and national races.

Moreover, to develop the national races which lagged behind in development through various periods, 24 Special Regions development projects are also being carried out energetically. In audition, to narrow down the development gap between urban and rural areas, the five rural development tasks are carried out throughout the country. Schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, dispensaries, roads, bridges, dams, reservoirs and electric power stations are built throughout the Union. The national people are now enjoying fruitful results of the development endeavours unprecedentedly. It shows that the genuine goodwill of the Government serving the interests of all the national people irrespective of race of location.

The seventeen years of taking off from the situation of 1988, full of set backs and the poor performance of national economy for more than four decades, highlighted that 'Growth-first strategy' is a primary mean for the country. The 'Growth-first strategy' calls for strong government with high mobilization force. To have a community peace and tranquility and prevalence of law and order, which will lead to the stability of the state, the

welfare of the community plays important role. In terms of reforms for building a new emergence state political renewals are aimed to stability of the state, national reconsolidation, building a new nation in accord with the new state constitution.

The border areas development projects are firstly given prior to the development of the regions of the armed groups from national ethnic groups who had returned to the legal fold. In a broader view for the regional development, the state has aimed to ensure the balance and equitable growth in states and divisions, implementation of special projects in 24 Special Zones and five rural development tasks are assigned in addition to the projects for border areas and development of the national races. Moreover, the basic need for development of 43 remaining regions is put under special projects.

Because of the heterogeneity of the developing world, it will be wise for Myanmar attempting to combine relevant concepts and theories from traditional economic analysis along with new models and broader multidisciplinary approaches experience of ASEAN, its immediate neighbours and of East Asia.

However limited the resources of the Myanmar Government may be, its commitment and dedication to carry through the task of totally resisting this national and international scourge. The much lower level of inflow of external assistance has neither diminished Myanmar's determination nor her efforts to further the programmes already laid down and being implemented.

Pursuant to the experiences gained through its legacy, the national development in all out country can only be done where peace and tranquility is sustained. Myanmar will continue to give top priority to overcoming the threat posed to the peace and development of the country and the international community at large. It is hoped that more and more countries will join hands with Myanmar in this noble endeavour.

Much more should be said on this topic, but I believe that this is sufficient to show that Terrorism is both an immediate and long-term threat to Peace and Development.





**SECTION IX**  
*Role of Media in the Process of  
Peace and Development*



# 40

## *Information Technology and Communication Development in Georgia : Its Impact on Civil Society*

*Teimuraz Kancheli*

**M**odern Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) have a strong impact on competitiveness and all aspects of life in advanced economies, and their potential impact on social and economic development cannot be denied. Policymakers and business leaders increasingly recognize the need to leverage this transformative potential of ICT to accelerate development, productivity and growth across all sectors of an economy.

The use of ICT for development, or e-Development, is fast becoming an important component of overall national development and competitiveness strategies. All major international donors, financial and development institution like the United Nations (UN), World Bank have established supporting programs and interventions for the purpose. In today's digital era, this is essential for transformation of the developing

countries' economies into globally competitive and connected Knowledge Economies.

The subject of my presentation is Information-Communication Technologies' Development in Georgia and their Impact on Civil Society. First of all I would like to introduce my country. Georgia (or sometimes in order not to mix with US state — Republic of Georgia) is former Soviet Republic, which declared its independence on April 9, 1991, shortly before the collapse of the USSR.

Georgia's current population is 4,661,000 (July 2006 est.), with ethnic Georgians forming a majority of about 83.8 per cent. Azerbaijanis form 6.5 per cent of the population, Armenians 5.7 per cent and Russians 1.5 per cent (most Russians have emigrated since Georgia declared its independence).

Georgia is a poor country. It is rich with its natural resources and human capital but poor because its economy suffers from the heritage of old Soviet time and processes that developed in Georgia after disintegration of the Soviet Union. You know that supported by Russia, Abkhazia and South Ossetia achieved and maintained de facto independence from Georgia. More than 250,000 Georgians were ethnically cleansed from Abkhazia by Abkhaz separatists and North Caucasians volunteers, (including Chechens) in 1992-1993. More than 25,000 Georgians were expelled from Ossetia as well. Currently the estimation of total GDP is \$6.4 billion and GDP per capita \$1,416.

It is possible to say without exaggeration, that the future development of Georgia and our existence as an independent nation will depend on how we will be able to accept the challenges of "Digital revolution" and the "Information Society" respond to them and accomplish corresponding tasks.

As a result of deep analysis of the problem, one would come to a simple conclusion, that Georgia like any other country in the world can save the national identity and cooperate on equal rights with leading countries only in case, it joins the process of Digital Revolution and undertakes major efforts to eliminate the digital disparity.

Consequently, high-grade introduction of digital technologies in our country, creation of corresponding conditions or in other words, "digital modernization" of Georgia, together with revival of "The Great Silk Road" and finding of a geopolitical function for Georgia, is the historical purpose of the Government authorities. Moreover, these great tasks privately



supplement each other, as without digital modernization in the epoch of globalization it will be very difficult to sustain national identity and cultural uniqueness.

Actually, the transition of Georgia to a developed industrial and post industrial phase and the problem of system development of our State is closely connected to the forming of the Information Society in the country, and any lagging behind in these issues will lead to the creation of a completely new type of disparity—"Digital disparity".

As the basic vector of external policy of Georgia is turned to NATO and the European Union membership, we should clearly realize that the elimination of any kind of a problem in information flow, ICT systems development and implementation, would be the important condition for membership in both structures. Therefore we should do everything possible to create public and transparent information infrastructure, which will become the basis of the formation of the strong industry of finding, processing and distribution of information.

As a rule, the level of the "digital disparity" is estimated by following interconnected parameters:

- how widely and frequently do we use computer systems, computer modeling and forecasting in the management of the country and in formulating strategic decisions — in all areas of state and social life;
- in what scale and how intensively are the information technologies used in education, medicine, document turnover, trade and consumption;
- how large is the sector of information and communication technologies in economy. (For example, I would like to note that in developed countries the sector of information is the largest segment of economy.)

We should realize that the center of gravity of the international confrontation has moved to the field of information resources and technologies, which in the near future will require reconsideration and correction of the international mechanisms, state policy and military doctrine.

We should admit, that in talking about "digital economy", "electronic management" or "distance education", we talk about a completely new paradigm of development of mankind! In this context we, on the one hand, should stand up to harmful and unfair information influence on our society by the external forces, and on the other hand, use

propaganda and objective information for settlement of territorial problems in a peaceful way — here we should achieve timeliness and reliability of the information, that promotes dialogue and finding of common points in different positions.

In particular, the information technologies should be used as the instrument, that will transform globalization and digital revolution as a positive influence for the welfare of Georgia, not to harm the Georgian culture, but on the contrary to enrich it, that will promote the Georgian culture in the world, becoming the stimulus of our development and the driving force and a factor of mobilization.

All the above mentioned problems confirm, that the reduction and elimination of digital inequality is not only a priority, but also a major task of each country.

I think the information technology influence on political, economic, social and cultural spheres will exceed the influence of capital. Together with this, knowledge, instead of the property, will become a major factor of differentiation — the informed and educated will become "rich", and the not-informed and not-educated will turn into "poor".

Currently the basic stress in Georgia is put on education and electronic government systems development. The e-government should bring us to a transparency of governing authority and establishment of democratic institutions, formation of socially oriented liberal economy and system effectiveness of social protection, narrowing of shadow economy and corruption. And the most important thing is faster integration of the country into the World Commonwealth.

When we are speaking on anything, first we should make assessments.

First of all, I would like to mention that making assessments and research in any field is quite a costly business, which requires a lot of time and effort. This is why we do not have recent estimations. The latest was funded by the World Bank and UNDP Georgia (NCTeam) and published in 2004 — *"ICT Development Framework for Georgia"*.

In the ICT field basic methodology used for this assessment is the one, recommended in the "Readiness for the Networked World: A Guide for Developing Countries" developed by Center for International Development at Harvard University and IBM ([www.readine\\_Hlt84851912s\\_Hlt84851912sguide.org](http://www.readine_Hlt84851912s_Hlt84851912sguide.org)). As for applied methodology, the research teams considered it necessary to use this methodology since it is accepted worldwide.

According to the Harvard research methodology, the level of Georgia's e-readiness to the digitally driven world community has been assessed by stages from one (the least advanced) to four (the most advanced). The assessment has been accomplished by five leading categories (Network Access, Networked Learning, Networked Society, Networked Economy and Network Policy), divided into 19 subcategories; each of them has been assessed in detail.

Data sources used for E-Readiness Assessment include statistical information from governmental agencies, Georgian Telecommunications Company, private telecom operators, ISPs, NGOs. The E-Readiness assessment also comprises information provided by independent experts, summaries of workshops and meetings held, personal interviews, as well as Internet resources, etc.

### **Some Achievements:**

- In 2005 there was an agreement with Microsoft Corporation about translation of Windows OS interface into Georgian.
- There are about 12-15 ISP providers in Georgia but there are only four who provide more than 70 per cent of connections.
- According to experts estimation there are about 2,50,000 computers in Georgia which makes it five per cent per capita. This applies basically to the capital of Georgia — Tbilisi. Situation in the regions is worse, because of communications problems (many of them are still equipped with old systems and poor telephone lines which disables even the average speed of network access).
- We have only one fiber-optic communication line of big capacity which connects Georgia with the outer world and is used by all ISPs in Georgia. Of course, in addition, they use satellite channels.
- Almost all Georgian ministries have LANs. Some of them are interconnected into the Metropolitan Area Network (MAN).
- All ministries, except one, run web-sites. Unfortunately, they do not completely meet the criteria of e-government applications. The Georgian Parliament and Legislative branches also have comprehensive websites.
- One of the most successful UNDP projects in Georgia in the field of ICT established a segment of e-government in Georgia, and what is most important — in the region called Imereti with the center in Kutaisi city. 11 administrative unites are connected to the central



point in Kutaisi. Kutaisi will be also connected to the Georgian Government Network (Wide Area Network).

- What is very promising — the UNDP project managed to establish e-clubs network in the region of Georgia. That is Internet Kiosk, Telecenter, or Information Kiosk widely spread in India and some other countries, for instance in Latin America and Africa. The e-clubs provide information services free of charge for poor people of villages and local authorities.

### **The Inadequacies:**

- May be the most important issue is the state overall ICT program for at least 10 year period. This should be a framework for all further projects and initiatives. It will give us a clear vision where to move.
- One of the main problems in ICT sector in Georgia is lack of legal framework. There are no modern laws which regulate any aspects of ICT. There is also no system of standards, which are applicable to ICT. (For instance, digital signature and certificates.)
- There are also poor communication lines all over in Georgia. Honestly it is changing in the positive direction, but still is far from acceptable level. The situation is rapidly improving in Tbilisi. Fast growth of the number of mobile phones of course helps but taking in consideration that this service still remains rather expensive (1 min mobile-mobile local call costs about 15 US cents) it is difficult to say that the mobile phones will dramatically change the situation in terms of availability and accessibility of the ICT for the population.
- Education. I do not mean just general education which is quite high in Georgia. I mean specific education, related to industry, say in networking. I think, many of you are aware of the “brain drain” phenomena. This applies to Georgia as well taking into consideration low average salaries in our country. Another part of population has low ICT-literacy. Many young people learnt computers in Internet clubs playing computer-games. It's not bad, but it is definitely not enough. I could say the same about civil servants. So, what we need is broad and intensive educational program, in some cases free of charge.
- We also need a specialized government agency, which will coordinate the government programs, international technical assistance etc. in ICT field. Unfortunately, these issues are dealt



with in many different ministries which, naturally, are paying more attention to their sectoral interests.

- Electronic Commerce is completely absent in Georgia. On the one hand we can attribute this to the lack of legislation, which should create a basis for that kind of ICT use. On the other hand, low level of the income of the population restricts such transactions.

### **Future Planning:**

First of all, I would like to emphasize that after the Rose bloodless Revolution in November 2003, the Government, which is now mainly consists of young, energetic and educated people understands the importance of ICT for the countrys further development. Despite that fact, there is no central government agency which will take the responsibility of ICT issues. But one of the Vice Deputies of Prime Minister is charged to take responsibility on e-governnence and other related issues in Georgia.

E-Governence refers to government's use of ICT to work more effectively, share information and deliver better services to the public. E-Governence is essentially more about the process of government reform and resulting benefits, than about the application of specific technological solutions or services.

A well-planned e-government strategy can make leaps into building a more efficient, accountable and transparent government. If planned with representation from key stakeholders, e-government applications can rebuild citizen trust in government, promote economic growth by improving interface with business, and empower citizens to participate in advancing good governance. While e-government is not a panacea for the complex and deep-rooted problems of corruption, it cannot be ignored that ICTs possess the ability to contribute effectively towards any anti-corruption efforts.

When e-government applications are used to fight corruption, it is critical that four key anti-corruption strategies — prevention; enforcement; access to information and empowerment; and capacity building — are integrated in the design and implementation process.

A few case studies of e-government applications report some impact on reducing corruption in several ways:

- **Prevention:** Introducing e-government applications provides an opportunity to simplify rules and procedures, and re-engineer processes and systems. The use of computers and online

transactions eliminate gatekeepers, depersonalize and standardize the delivery of services and thus, reduce abuse of discretion and other opportunities for corruption.

- **Enforcement:** Computerized procedures make it possible to track decisions and actions and thus, serve as an additional deterrent to corruption. Where data are centralized, unbiased sampling procedures can be applied for audit purposes.
- **Access to Information and Empowerment:** Publishing of government information online builds accountability by providing documentation to citizens to substantiate their complaints against corrupt practices.
- **Capacity Building:** Introducing e-government applications requires that tele-communication infrastructure is strengthened, human resources are developed in ICT literacy, and the culture of good governance promoted.

Experts think that the most important projects in Georgia also are: public-state data bank for physical and juridical persons, state data bank for public information of united customs and tax data banks.

In these banks, the important state and public open information on citizens, juridical persons, state structures and government officials will be accumulated. And also, information related to environment protection and natural resources, urbanization, land and forestry, geology, ecology and radiation safety.

The Cisco Corporation granted equipment worth one million US dollars to Georgia government in order to create the Georgia Government Network. The State Minister just recently held a meeting, where it was decided that the Government will invest its own resources to make the Georgian Government Network the most comprehensive, which will embrace the whole territory of Georgia and join all governmental bodies providing data transfer, joint DBs, voice communication through IP telephones. This net, of course, will be properly secured (the firewalls and VPN protocol will be utilized).

To overcome the digital backwardness, each of us must realize that today, information technologies naturally adjoin the life of modern society and influence not only management, economics, education or science, but also the human being itself. Principles and purposes of both political and economic activities and social defense are equally present in "Information Society".

Of course the leverage of the tools of Information Society must be in the right hands. Georgia denounces the use of modern ICT for extremism and terrorism, for violence and bringing pressure over small states and nations by superpower states. Just to the contrary — the ICT revolution should create the basis of economic and social development inside countries, bring backward countries closer to leading courtiers, help to develop just international relations and ensure peace in small regions and all over the globe.

# 41

## *Town Hall Meetings on Nagorny Karabakh Conflict Resolution*

*Christina Sargsyan*

*T*echnology takes us in the direction of new possibilities for collaboration, for linking the conversations that occur among people, and for linking people with new bodies of knowledge. These relationships can lead to a continuing stream of new insights. (John Kao, in 'A Passion for Ideas')

Any innovation is a double-edged sword — it cuts both ways, and can be either a blessing or a disaster depending on how people handle it. Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) are no exception: it can become a powerful tool to address a number of issues, or it can be yet another lost potential. There have been various attempts to use ICT in public participation and peace building initiatives, some a huge success, others more moderate. This paper elaborates on one such project, a case from Armenia.



In the summer of 2006 the Nagorny Karabakh peace process took an interesting direction. The statement of the co-chairmen of the Minsk Group<sup>1</sup> at the OSCE Permanent Council and the several interviews with Matthew Bryza, the US Co-Chair of the OSCE Minsk Group, presented to the public the general outlines of the negotiated package which is on the discussion table today. Undoubtedly, in the past too the public was more or less informed of the previous scenarios that were being negotiated. But this is the first time ever when secrecy is being at least partially lifted from a package which is not yet history or which has already been declined, but is the one that is on the table at the moment and about which the negotiations are in process.

In fact, the curtain of secrecy has been raised, and the people of Armenia and Azerbaijan can already see the essence of the proposal. In particular, in the statement of the co-chairmen, it is noted that the mediators are certain they have done everything they could and from now on the major burden is primarily on the Armenian and Azerbaijani sides. Finally, the co-chairmen call for a larger involvement of the public in the process, considering public participation to be a more democratic and healthy approach to the resolution of the conflict.

To find out the public opinion regarding the possible resolution of Nagorny Karabakh conflict, the International Center for Human Development, (ICHD) a well-known Armenian think tank, made an attempt to promote public participation and to make sure effectiveness was achieved using the possibilities suggested by ICT. This paper presents this initiative, and its outcome, and outlines a possible development in the future.

## **Overview of Nagorny Karabakh Conflict**

Nagorny Karabakh is a de facto independent republic in the South Caucasus, officially part of the Republic of Azerbaijan, about 270 kilometers (170 miles) west of the Azerbaijani capital of Baku, and very close to the border with Armenia.

The predominantly Armenian region became a source of dispute between the republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan when both countries gained independence from the Russian Empire in 1918. After the Soviet Union expanded in to the South Caucasus, it established the Nagorny Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO) within the Azerbaijan SSR in 1923. On December 10, 1991, as the Soviet Union was collapsing, a referendum held in the NKAO and the neighboring district of Shahumian resulted in a

declaration of independence from Azerbaijan as the Nagorny Karabakh Republic (NKR), which remains unrecognized by any international organization or country.

In the final years before the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the region was again a source of dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan, culminating in the Nagorny Karabakh War. Since the end of the war in 1994, most of Nagorny Karabakh and several regions of Azerbaijan around it remain under Armenian military control. Since then, the parties have been holding peace talks mediated by the OSCE Minsk Group.

### **Rationale Behind the Town Hall Meeting**

Armenian and Azerbaijani presidents have been negotiating over Nagorny Karabakh conflict since the ceasefire in 1994. The conflict took many lives and until now has had its impact on the region, in particular hindering the relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan. As a result of the current situation there are no diplomatic relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Common people are unable to communicate with each other either. Such a situation distances ordinary citizens of both countries from the Nagorny Karabakh conflict resolution process, and their voices, rarely if ever, affect the process. It is amazing to observe the number of actors involved in the process, starting from the CIS mediators, who provide a regular forum for the meetings of Armenian and Azeri high rank officials to the current OSCE Minsk Group mediators. All these stakeholders discuss relevant issues and try to come up with solutions that will eventually affect the daily lives of people in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorny Karabakh. Still, the attitudes, interests, feelings and positions of these very people remain to be discovered. That common people are alienated from the Karabakh peace process was the key theme in the latest publication on the conflict by Conciliation Resources as well (see the Accord issue “The limits of leadership Elites and societies in the Nagorny Karabakh peace process” at <http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/nagorny-karabakh/contents.php>). It tries to highlight the current status of the process using an all-inclusive approach and attempting to present the perspectives from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Nagorny Karabakh and the other parties involved in the process. All the authors are unanimous that the people should have a say in the process.

Realizing the urgency of the issue and having always been an advocate of public involvement in decision making processes, ICHD introduced a new initiative to address this need in Armenia. It decided to

engage citizens in the process of making decisions that would eventually impact their lives, since it believes in reasserting people's place in democracy which is government of the people, by the people and for the people.

ICHHD proposed innovative deliberative tools that work for both citizens and decision makers. These tools give citizens an opportunity to have a strong voice in public decision making within the increasingly short timeframes required of decision makers. As a result, citizens can influence decisions and those in leadership positions can make more informed and lasting decisions.

Sadly, citizens have largely lost their rightful role in public decision making. The dramatic growth and power of special interest groups has both constrained leaders and squeezed ordinary citizens out of the decision-making process. As a result, many citizens feel alienated, and decision makers have lost touch with their constituents' true concerns.

ICHHD was seeking to reverse this dangerous trend by using the latest information technologies to create large-scale citizen engagement projects.

The format ICHHD chose to make the opinions and attitudes of common citizens of Armenia visible was Town Hall Meeting (THM).

## **Town Hall Meeting**

Town Hall Meeting creates engaging, meaningful opportunities for citizens to participate in public decision making. This unique process is based on the experience of a US-based public organization "America Speaks", which developed the methodology of town hall meetings to address the needs of citizens, decision makers and democracy.

Decision makers often find it difficult to gauge how the majority of "general interest" citizens feel about important issues. In turn, citizens feel disregarded and are not inclined to participate in public life, thus creating a dangerous cycle.

The THM process restores the citizens' voice in public decision making by creating an opportunity for the general public to give those in leadership positions direct, substantive feedback on key public issues. Each meeting effectively restores the balance of the "political playing field" by engaging hundreds of "general interest" citizens at a time, effectively and quickly summarizing citizen input and widely disseminating the results through media coverage. The following table summarizes the strengths of the model and the key success factors:



Strengths of the Model	Critical Success Factors
Scaling Up	Every voice is at the table
Everyone participates; no idea is lost	Decision-makers involved at each step
Interactive discussions	Right content, structure, and process
Clear articulation of priorities	Outcomes that make a difference

### THM Format

Town Hall Meeting focuses on discussion and deliberation among citizens, rather than speeches, Question and Answer sessions or panel presentations. Diverse groups of citizens participate in round-table discussions (10-12 people per table), deliberating in depth about key policy, resource allocation or planning issues. Discussions at each table are led by a trained facilitator to ensure that participants stay on task and that each table is engaged in a democratic process. Participants receive detailed and balanced background information to increase their knowledge of the issues under consideration.

Technology transforms the individual table discussions into one large group discussion. Each table submits recommendations and ideas using wireless groupware computers. At each table there is a note-taker who records all the ideas exchanged around the table and submits these to the head operator who moderates the incoming messages to display for public attention. At the end of the discussions each participant can vote on specific proposals using polling keypads/computer program. The entire group responds to the themes generated from table discussions and votes on their final recommendations to decision makers. Before the meeting ends, final recommendations are compiled into a report, which is distributed to the participants, decision makers and the media. Decision makers actively engage in the meeting by participating in table discussions, observing the process and responding to citizen input at the end of the meeting.

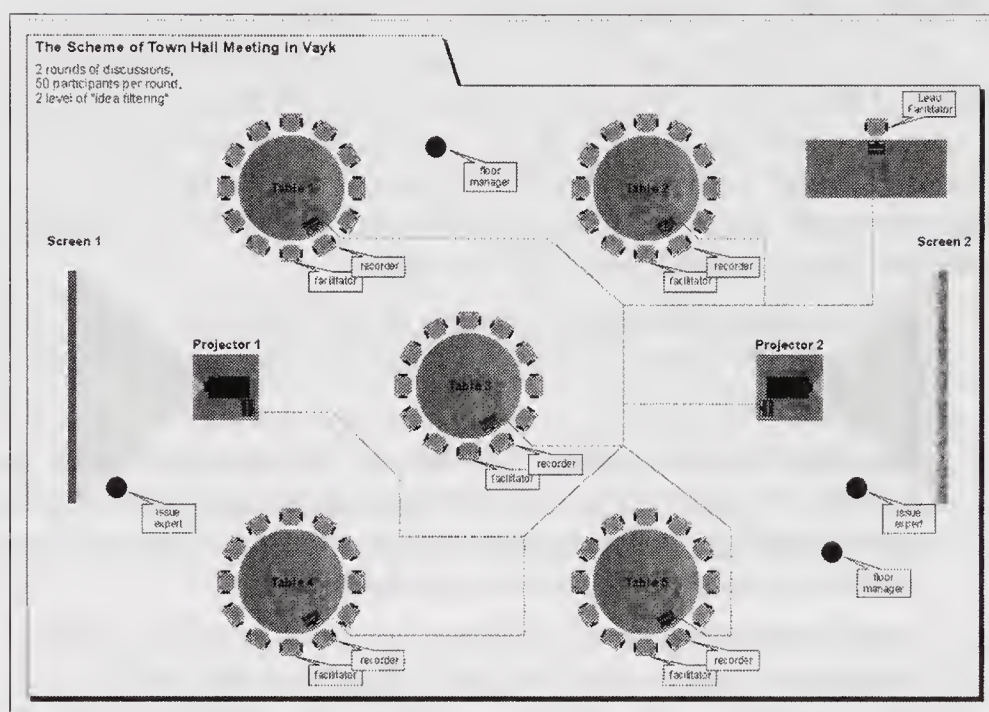
In summary, to arrange a THM it is necessary to:

- clarify and define the issue to be discussed;
- suggest concrete background information on the theme involving necessary expertise;
- work out the scheme of the physical settings where the discussions will be held;
- develop the necessary software;
- acquire computer hardware; install LAN;



- train facilitators and note-takers;
- promote the event and invite participants
- ensure the presence of technical troubleshooting and logistics support staff at the discussion venue; and
- report the results of the THM to all the interested stakeholders.

### Sample Setting of a THM



### The Role of ICT in the THM

The success of the THM largely depends on the use of ICT as well and how skillfully the technologies are used. Hattotuwa, the founder of Info Share, a successful ICT intervention in transforming the conflict in Sri Lanka, and one of the few researchers focusing on the role of ICT in conflict transformation, notes, that though there is not any specific time which can be considered ripe for the use of ICT in the process of conflict transformation, the effectiveness of such use is more evident when conflict transformation efforts happen in the period after ceasefire, since "the dynamic on the ground are relatively more receptive on the need for sharing information, collaborating, appropriating technology and developing mechanisms (both physical and virtual) for communities and peoples to deal with conflict creatively and non-violently<sup>2</sup>". After the ceasefire agreement signed on May 12, 1994, by representatives of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorny Karabakh, attempts to engage the public in the

peace process have been extremely few. For a number of reasons the potential of ICT has been underestimated or underused as well. There have been a few instances to bring the representatives of civil societies on both sides of the conflict together with the use of ICT, such as joint blogging, or creation of cooperative communities through various online forums, but the impact of these activities has remained limited to the forum of the online participants. Because of limited access to ICT these online interactions did not expand to reach larger groups of common citizens in both countries.

The way THMs are designed, ICT takes on the role of a multiplier and a catalyst of interaction. One may question the effectiveness of such use of ICT, since it applies to one side of the conflict only, whereas the above-mentioned forums involved both sides. But one should not forget that there are different types of conflict transformation and such use of ICT targets a few of them. Miall (2003) identifies five such types:

- **Context transformations:** Changes in the context of conflict that may radically alter each party's perception of the conflict situation, as well as their motives.
- **Structural transformations:** Changes in the basic structure of the conflict, that is in the set of the actors, issues and incompatible goals, conflicting beliefs or relationships, or in the society, economy or state within which the conflict is embedded.
- **Actor transformations:** Decisions on the part of the actors to change their goals or alter their general approach to conflict.
- **Issue transformations:** Changes in positions that parties take on key issues at the heart of the conflict as well as the way in which parties redefine or reframe those positions in order to reach compromises or resolutions.
- **Personal/elite transformations:** Personal changes of heart and mind within individual leaders or small groups with decision making power at critical moments.

The use of ICT in Town Hall Meetings allows targeting possible changes at least in two groups — personal/elite transformations and actor transformations. At a THM every participant gets an opportunity to anonymously express an opinion, to interact with the other 49 participants in the room through the use of LAN and multimedia facilities. ICT allows summarizing the individual opinions and providing an immediate feedback to decision makers. This is a very conducive forum for self-expression and identification of a diversity of opinions. The ICT gives the participants an opportunity to pay heed to various opinions and test the

validity of their own positions which is the best prerequisite for any sustainable change.

## **Resolution of the Nagorny Karabakh Conflict**

**Town Hall Meetings:** Given the urgency of the issue and the advantages the format of Town Hall Meeting has, it was decided to organize public discussions on the resolution of Nagorny Karabakh (NK) conflict in four cities of Armenia, which share the border with Azerbaijan, namely Ijevan, Gavar, Kapan and Meghri. Three of the towns were seriously involved in war actions as well and the wounds of the war are still fresh among the people. They were seen as the crucial constituents to voice their opinions.

Four hundred twenty nine citizens from diverse social groups participated in round-table discussions (12-15 people per table), deliberating in depth on their feelings, concerns, level of trust and suggesting their own solutions to the conflict. At each session more than 50 participants were able to concurrently discuss the suggested scenarios of possible solutions of the NK conflict, and the interactive and lively discussions were made possible due to the support of ICT. Discussions at each table were facilitated by a trained moderator who was to ensure that participants stay on task and that each participant has a chance to contribute to the discussion, thus ensuring an equal and democratic discussion process.

Five scenarios on a possible resolution of the NK conflict were presented to the THM participants: "Status Quo", "NKR as Part of Azerbaijan", "NKR: Independent or Part of Armenia", "The Issue of Status to be Discussed Later" and "Procrastinated Resolution - Certain Warrants". Each of the scenarios summarized the major point of a possible compromise discussed in media. After half an hour discussion on each of the scenarios the participants voted for their preferred ones, the first choice of the majority being the scenario of status quo. The individual group discussions were then transformed into one large group discussion, which was made possible through the use of ICT. Each discussion group submitted recommendations and ideas using groupware computers and each participant voted on specific proposals using specifically tailored software. As a result, in total 1809 messages were generated from all the discussion tables and sent to the central computer, of which 1550 messages were elaborated by the lead facilitator and sent to the large display screens. Each message on a screen was an idea, a feeling, a concern, an approach, a fact, an attitude, a belief or disbelief which the participants expressed during the facilitated discussion.



The final outcomes of all four THMs were compiled into a report, which was distributed to the participants, decision makers and the media.

**Outcomes:** “The President went to negotiate, and we don't even know what has been discussed. To whom and about what shall we complain? We don't know anything. There is a lack of information.” “The government officials are too far away from the people. No one asks us, What shall we do?” “I am not certain that, for instance, the President will read the opinions we expressed today at this discussion and consider those later while negotiating. Have they ever taken into account the public opinion?” “There should be discussions amongst the people more often. People at various social layers should get clarifications in order to be ready for a compromise.” “The state authorities do as they like. There is no connection between these authorities and the people.” “The public should regularly learn of the truth about the negotiation process, in order to define their positions, trust and support.”

These are the concerns of the common RA citizens expressed at the public discussions held in Ijevan, Gavar, Kapan and Meghri, where there were more than 500 participants of various professions and ages. They were very ordinary Armenians who above all — above their routine troubles, economic situation, etc. — were concerned about the peaceful resolution of our priority issue in the foreseeable future. This concern compelled them to speak out, even if they were not being heard — at least they should have a chance to speak out. One has to agree — this is a very human need.

Something suggests the Azerbaijani society experiences similar concerns.

**Looking into the future:** Thus, we have a situation when people want to become a part of the resolution process of an issue very vital for them, when the presidents need public support and the mediators have called for initiation of public discussions. Then what do we wait for? Is it difficult to conclude that the current phase of the NK conflict resolution is the phase of active public discussions? It seems there are no other alternatives.

The NK issue is the most “popular” issue both in Armenia and Azerbaijan in the sense that the issue touches everyone and can interest all. Therefore, it is quite possible to walk onto the path of representative participation of all.

It is not difficult to notice that the package currently on the negotiation table includes several groups of issues. It is certainly possible to effectively narrate each group within half a page, come up with four or five



possible options written in an understandable language, take those and if need be visit every single village, community and district, bring together representative focus groups, impartially present the existing options and open up a discussion. In the end, it is certainly possible to summarize all the outcomes and say that these are the results of the “public discussion”; this is what our people are ready for. Thus it is possible to find out what the “public opinion” is and to understand what we eventually want, how we should “work to include the people”. This is equally true of both Armenians and Azerbaijanis. The use of ICT can considerably facilitate the process as one case in Armenia has shown.

An expensive treat? Certainly not more expensive, than just sitting and waiting for the gradually hardening atmosphere at the next meeting of the two presidents.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>The OSCE Minsk Group was created in 1992 by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE, now Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)) to encourage a peaceful, negotiated resolution to the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorny Karabakh.

<sup>2</sup>Hattotuwa, S. (2003) Untying the Gordian Knot: ICT for Conflict Transformation and Peace Building, posted at:

<http://sanjanah.googlepages.com/thoughtsonictandpeacebuilding>

# 42

## *The Role of Media in the Process of Peace and Development*

*Amita Malik*

*T*hank you Mr. Chairman.

Instead of the custom of thanking you for inviting me in the beginning, may I take a minute to indulge in a bit of nostalgia about this institute? It was over 10 years ago when my brother and I got tickets for the Davis Cup matches here, in Chandigarh. And when we got down, there was not a single hotel room available. So, one of the tennis officials said, there is a nice Mr. Malhotra, you go to him and he will help you out. So, nice Mr. Malhotra, in what was then not in such a grand style, gave us what must have been his last room. It was next to the kitchen and we got endless supplies of *Aloo Parantha* and omelettes as a result. And now I have come back after over 10 years and find this grand set up and extreme efficiency and very warm hospitality. I think we should say thank you to the nice Mr. Malhotra.

So, now I come to the main point of my presentation. Recently we had a discussion on television, a panel of four, Mr. N. Ram of *The Hindu*, Mr. Vinod Mehta of *Outlook* and the two of us columnists and in the course of an hour-long discussion, we come to the conclusion that one of the most controversial things now in the Indian media is this business of scams. And what ethics if any should lie behind it and in what ways it should be used. Now for those who are not familiar, it all started with the sting of *Tehelka* where a hidden camera was used to film a senior party leader accepting bundles of notes as bribery. That was the beginning and it started a whole new trend in explosive of corruption among other things. After this it travelled a long way but the question at issue is to what extent investigative journalism should pry into the private and personal lives of people unless it is in the public interest. Now I am a professional TV watcher and there is one TV channel which I would not name which boasts that it has a scam a day. And usually these are about the private life of film stars. And on the other hand, you get really a big exposes which is done by people who even risk their lives. And there is a whole new generation of eager reporters who are brave, who are completely prepared to undertake the exposes. And the audience of this panel agreed that Indian eagerness sometimes becomes irresponsible. And it was decided that in future perhaps editors should send more experienced reporters out so that the exposes could be done with more responsibility. The other second question is of trial by media. There have been three very important criminal cases, where people were murdered but justice took 10 years. Sometimes there was no justice at all. And it is largely due to the media who interviewed the relatives of the victims, who interviewed lawyers, who interviewed sociologists, who interviewed people on the street that the whole human aspect of the crime, came to light. And it sparked public opinion to such an extent that people gathered near monuments and lit candles to say — “we want justice for so and so”. Now again, the question which arose was — to what extent newspapers themselves should participate? And it was agreed that while they can suggest that people should demonstrate on whatever their position is, editors should not go out on the street and wave flags. They should certainly stimulate public opinion but not become a part of it, in what can sometimes be a biased way.

Then, I come to my second point which is the decline of the editor. Again I would not name names but there are papers, where editors have been told that they will not have to be bothered to write editorials and they don't have to do any editorial work and they can always hire people from outside to write editorials. And one such owner, who got the ownership by

heredity, and evidently sent first for the Sunday desk editors and said look “I want no more nonsense about book reviews and such things and certainly not books by Indian publishers or Indian authors”. And then he sent for the general staff and said that in his newspaper there will be no nonsense about serious journalism. “In future my paper would be run on films, food, fashion and fornication”. So that is what editors can be reduced to but we have very strong upright editors who are not only supported by their owners but who stand up for their rights. Now, one of the interesting phenomena here, I don't know if it is in the other countries also, is this Page 3 phenomenon. That is where socialites appear on Page 3 at a party. And it is said that they were so anxious to get on to the Page 3 of the newspaper that the women reporters were passed gold chains and male reporters were given cell phones. After that it became so embarrassing that some papers decided that they would officialize it. And now you have to pay five thousand rupees to have your photo in the newspapers and a flattering line about how well dressed you are and how popular you are. Now, so far we have had a lot of tyranny from the government interfering in the matters of the press and media, information bills, censorship and all that, but one of the worst thing which has started competing with the government is the tyranny of the advertiser. Matters have been in such a state on television that if I sit down to see a feature film which is two hours long, I have to watch two hours more, four hours over one feature film because the other half is fitted up entirely by advertisements which come at crucial moments in a film and totally destroy the continuity. And the other is — cricket matches amongst other sports. Two channels openly say that they cannot be bothered with showing the entire balls of the over. One channel says we show four balls, the other says we show five balls and you can do what you like. And we now have girls coming on TV in the middle of cricket matches showing off fashions, introducing film stars. They do not even pretend to know anything about cricket but they are not there to attract women viewers to cricket, I think they are there to attract male voyeurs.

Then, there is the interference of government. The most recent serious interference I know of is the top editor of *Doordarshan*. A very outgoing young man and a first class reporter, he went straight to Washington and interviewed president George Bush and he was so good that it was the sort of interview you do not see on government channels. It was very forthcoming, he asked very difficult questions and he really grilled George Bush. When he came back, he was sacked because he was told he had not gone through all three channels from whom he should have got permission before going. And he still remains sacked. In fact, he died of



a heart attack soon after. Then there is the business of censorship. There is a young man called Anand Patvardhan who makes very forthcoming films on fundamentalism. Now, if you enter your film for government awards, you do not have to go through the censors and then it is mandatory for those films to be shown on television, but both of the government channels refused to show those films. So, Anand has been up for three times to the Supreme Court and in every case the Supreme Court has ruled that *Doordarshan* should show his films on TV. At the moment our national awards have been held up for something like six months, because they said they could not accept Patvardhan's short film because it has not gone through the censors. So Patvardhan has appealed to the Supreme Court and the awards cannot be given until cleared. So this is the sort of thing which goes on and we cannot go into the nuances of the Broadcasting Bill except that there is monopoly on the radio and interference in professional matters. Then there is a very interesting case of an anchor called Deepak Chourasiya who was considered a sympathizer of the BJP and he was in an independent channel called *Aaj Tak*. But the minute BJP came into power he was transferred and taken away by *Doordarshan*. I do not think he indulged in any bias, I mean all news on government channels are biased, he read out what was given to him. And the minute that government fell, he was sacked, so, he came back to *Aaj Tak* from where he had gone and he is doing good work there.

The last thing on which I would like to concentrate is a very unhealthy rat race which has started between channels; mainly in Hindi and English. In the south they are openly political, political parties own TV channels. They do not do it so officially, in the North in Hindi and English though they are frequently accused of the bias which they deny. But what is happening is that the rat race has got to a stage where two channels compete in this way. Supposing one channel does an interview with M J Akbar, the other channel will also do an interview with M J Akbar at exactly the same time, on simultaneous channels. And this goes on all the time like a war between film stars and sometimes politicians. For instance, a new channel came up and they had Sonia Gandhi and so did the other channel and one did not know which channel to watch. So my point is that there is space for everybody and they can show that at different time, so that we can enjoy all the interviews. But they are not willing to do that. Then they steal away staff by giving them higher salaries and sometimes the staff goes back to the previous channel because they feel they are being exploited. This constant change is worse than the advertising world where there used to be a lot of incest. Now it has started in the TV channels. The other thing is that

all sorts of false claims are made to claim 'exclusives' and 'first with the news' and 'only on our channel'. There was a recent, very terrible, terrorist blowing up of trains in Mumbai and one anchor went on the screen immediately, where he said "we are the first channel giving this news internationally". This happens to be a channel linked with CNN, so as an Indian watcher I immediately switched over to *Times Now*, which is linked with *Reuters* and I found they were giving the identical news at the identical time, *BBC* was also giving it. The Indian channels which had foreign correspondents abroad were giving it at the same time. But this business of making false claims 'we are the best', 'the mostest', 'the fastest', has become very ugly. And I think it is irritating viewers to a degree they do not realise.

Well, that's about it, thank you.

# 43

## *Performing Arts and Culture for Peace and Development*

*Sujata Miri*

*T*hank you Mr. Chairman. Not having been forewarned I am compelled to perform impromptu without any preparation. So please bear with me. My main interest as an academic is in the field of tribal cultures, especially the tribal cultures of northeast India bordering China, Myanmar and Bangladesh. I have lived in that region for about three decades and most of my research pertains to the understanding of its great variety of cultures. I would like, therefore, to limit my presentation of performing arts and culture to the particular predicament facing the tribes of the northeast.

In this connection, first and foremost, contrary to what has just been said, I wish to emphasize the all-encompassing role of culture in the tribal communities, indeed in all traditional communities both tribal and non-tribal. Because of the paucity of time, however, my stress here will only be

on tribal communities of the northeast. Culture plays the most crucial role in giving meaning to all human activities in a community. Excepting in modern secular societies, religion is a very important element of culture if not the most important. In traditional tribal societies, religion played a determining role in the identity of a community. The ultimate meaning and sanction for all the activities that the tribesmen performed — dancing, singing, getting married, having children, dying, eating — almost everything they did lay in their conception of the sacred whether it was viewed as a deity, as a principle, a force or in some other way. Whatever was being done was done with the full confidence in and with the knowledge of the authority of the underlying sacred reality. The idea of the sacred, that is to say, nurtured each culture. This however was true of the past tradition of the tribal communities; with the changed circumstances of the contemporary times culture and religion have diverged — as also their arts, music and dance.

Now one point which is clear to any student of art, is that in folk art the locus of creativity is the community itself. In that sense it differs from modern art. Western civilization, thanks to the Enlightenment, “has emancipated art from religious usage”. It will not be entirely wrong to suggest that in the west the concept of art is a modern construct. Traditionally art forms of various cultures amplified the experiences which are given in less conscious form by religion; they have developed from the sacred view of life. With the eclipse of the sacred, art emerged as a subject, a redeeming enterprise and “the artist stepped into the place vacated by the prophet and the priest.” While folk art involves the expression of a shared belief, modern art is an individual creation. It makes sense to say that this painting or this poem is by so and so. “Who are the great performing artists?” It is perfectly legitimate question for we can rank them, we can talk and equate them, criticize them and compare them. So also we can study the similarities and differences between the works of art of different countries. Where we have a matching world view, for instance, we can see matching traits in our art forms. All this is possible because of the changing conception of art.

The tribal communities numbering more than three hundred living in the north east have been under tremendous pressure for change into some recognizable form of modernity. Here were communities living relatively at peace and harmony with nature and with one another. Most of the elements and forces of nature were considered sacred. The rivers were sacred, the mountains were sacred; the religious rituals as well as the economy centered around their geographical landscape. Undoubtedly,



there was conflict, even wars, but relatively, in comparison to modern times, there was peace and, one might even say, joy in living. Change came at first when Christianity made its entry; the missionaries arrived in a big way under the patronage of the rulers who came from the west; and different churches, different denominations entered the field and conversions of the people into different types of the Christian faith followed. We thus have these traditional cultures faced with the daunting prospect of adjusting to massive and totally unforeseen changes, which were externally introduced. A pessimistic account will lament the loss of the indigenous culture but the people themselves were resilient and they made remarkable adjustments. I would like to give you one example from the world of music and dance. Now dancing and singing, just as other rituals, were performed in the community at the time of commencing any new venture. Members of the community would assemble, the elders would give their blessings and they would pay homage to the presiding deity. Only after addressing their prayers to the respective deities, will the community music and dance — as required in that particular venture — will begin. The Christian missionaries initially felt threatened by this community activity, calling it barbaric, pagan, an offshoot of the underlying animism which was their pet phrase for tribal religions. They prohibited the tribesmen from taking part in the group dances. The non-Christian population — men women and children — danced with great abundance in the sacred fields on auspicious occasions such as harvesting and sowing. Their Christian counterparts were reduced to playing the role of passive audience. This banning of dance by churches continued for some years. But gradually, perhaps because of the apprehension that suppression of deep-rooted cultural forms might lead to some form of backlash, the dance was allowed to be performed by the Christian clergy with the rider that the prayers to the traditional deity be substituted by prayers to Jesus. The art form, an important element of the indigenous culture, has accordingly not been given up but adjusted to suit the requirement of Christianity. Today, before the commencement of any important social activity accompanied by performances of traditional forms of music and dance the Christian pastor sanctifies the gathering by offering prayers to the Christian God. As any other artistic tradition the dance form too is a constantly evolving system of conventions and shared expectations. So also the themes, the dress and the ornaments worn on the occasion of the dances are part of the tribe's inheritance. Hence, understandably, the Christians want to preserve this art form.

Another catalyst of change, along with Christianity is modernization. After India achieved independence from British rule, we

have what some refer to as the birth of the Indian nation. There was also the process of unification in the fields of education, sports, administration, and governance, etc. These so-called nation-building activities have shaken these communities further. Prior to independence we had the different groups living more or less as self-contained units; there was dialogue between them but by and large they were content with their own system of governance, administration of justice, moral values and social conventions. The shift in perspective from the then to the now has made the pursuit of what was indigenous appear as strenuous, fruitless and absurd. Modern education, for instance has led to the progressive disenchantment with the traditional art forms more specifically the art of weaving. Traditionally if a female member of the community wove a scarf, she did it for her brother or for her father or for the man she was going to wed one day or for her own requirement. The new system of education demands that she sit in a school, instead of working on the loom, prepare the material for dyeing etc. all the activities that constitute an essential part of this creative project. The new learning process, from morning to evening makes her disinterested in the pursuit of this art form. She does not see either the relevance or the necessity of it. The same is true of traditional music and poetry. As the youngsters learn English poems, the poetry of their elders is lost to them. On the arrival of a guest to her house, the mother, to whom English is an unintelligible tongue, now takes great pride in making her child recite, parrot-like, nursery rhymes in the English language. All this notwithstanding the agenda of promoting the new vision of the world has to grapple with the problem of preservation of traditional art forms. Strong forces, political and social, have narrowed down on the performing arts as the carrier of cultural identity. This is true of most tribal communities in different parts of the north east. You have people wanting to preserve these art forms simply because they are their very own. No celebration in the north east is ever complete without the guests being subjected to a presentation of folk dances from almost all communities of the region. While arranging the programme the organizers have to move cautiously lest they overlook any one community.

In the musical repertoire of the Liangmai Nagas, a very small tribe living on the border of Myanmar there is a song which when sung takes five days to complete. Tradition forbids leaving it halfway very much like the *Jagratra*, or the non-stop *Gurvani* (*akhandpath*). Whenever my research student would request the village elder to allow him to record the recitation he was met with disapproval and rejection. Only when the student succeeded in convincing him of the need to preserve it for posterity, as the

future marker of the identity of the community, was he allowed to complete his mission in bits and parts. The Khasis of Meghalaya have the famous Thanksgiving dance known as Shad-suk-Mynsiem. As the drums beat, the women folk dressed up in all their finery, dance in the field moving in rhythmic unison, straight and erect, their feet never leaving the ground. Soon the male dancers join them, with swords in their hands they move gracefully around the womenfolk, as if to protect them. The demand in modern times is to reduce this festival to a saleable product, a commodity to be consumed. The Naga tribes have successfully severed their folk dances from their sacred moorings so they can present them to receptive audiences globally. But what do the Khasis do? They create the scene of the celebration as a tableau and perform the dance on any more or less unfamiliar stage, such as in the annual republic day parade held in the capital.

The community will sustain itself through the preservation of its culture. Everything other than its art, dance and music has been sacrificed at the altar of Christianity and modernity. The elite and the successful lot of the community rarely show their proximity to the arts of their past in their day-to-day life; and yet they wish to be seen as being at home with it. They demand various new avenues and forums including markets catering to the cultural products for which they themselves have no use, which, when paid for, will give aesthetic satisfaction to the buyer. Not only must the government agencies create peaceful marketing conditions for the products they must also see that the “locals” are involved personally in the production and the appreciation of them. Not only must the tribes have museums they must also have art fairs where they can sell directly what they produce. I no longer weave cloth for my near and dear ones; indeed I myself rarely wear traditionally woven cloth; but since this art form has to be protected the need for it has to be artificially created by government intervention.

So also in the world of music while the rich elite would rather that his ward learn piano at the earliest possible, and have the bureaucracy arrange a concert or two to show off his talent, they expect the government to allot at least fifteen minutes time, if no more is possible, on the radio and television network to the rural artists who still handle the traditional instruments. For his part the artist plays the flute or the drums not for thanks giving but more for the secular needs of money and the glamour associated with radio and television. University departments also have been encouraged to start courses in folk music and painting. Interestingly the Christianized elite would avoid painting with any reference to the sacred indigenous worldview, the sun god/goddess or what they think is a

sacred river, they would rather draw some thing neutral such as horses or flowers. It is difficult to dissociate art from the traditional view of things accordingly the art teacher has found a way out of this. He narrates give a story/legend or two to the student and asks him to translate it into a painting. This way the child learns to have a healthy respect for his community's past. Instead of being rubbished, the legends get preserved with creative innovative touches.

Let me conclude by saying something about peace; it is obvious that artistic activity is necessarily peaceful. If I were to join the underground, or if I had to live with the fear that at any moment there will be knock on my door, and a gunman will enter, I don't think much of artistic activity in those circumstances, any creativity for that matter is possible. Artistic activity is necessarily peaceful and peace enhancing activity because from the nature of the case it is self-transcending, unlike violence, which leads to selfish, and self-aggrandizing behavior. True artistic activity is essentially self-effacing; you lose the self in the work of art as it were. .



**SECTION X**  
*Spirituality, Science and Technology as a  
Source of Peace and Development*



# 44

## *Spirituality for Peace and Development*

*Ashok Arora*

*B*efore we talk of spirituality for Peace and Development, I wish to make a confession. Having practiced in court of law for more than twenty seven years — fortunately or unfortunately — most of the matters I was dealing with were of the criminal jurisdiction. One is not very comfortable making confession, but I am making a true confession before I start. I am here because of affection of Shri Rashpal Malhotra and not as an expert in spiritual aspect of life. But, yes of course this much in all humility at command I must say that I have been a seeker for last couple of years. So being a seeker, being a learner, what I learnt, what I experienced, what I noticed, what I perceived, I just wish to share my thoughts with you and kindly do not think it as a lecture as I have already confessed at the outset that I am totally incompetent to lecture such an august gathering.

When we talk of spirituality peace and development, is it not the time to have at least world-wide view of what is happening around. What is spirituality today, where is peace today and what is development today? The existence of mankind as it stands today and what do we hope and wish would be a perfect balance. I will come back to it later but just to touch a bit for the time being. Spirituality does not at all mean any rituals because of which young generation is feeling put off by religion and preachers alike. Frankly, I am impressed with many of them because of their positive contribution towards growth of Spirituality. Spirituality is the foundation of peace and development. Without spirituality, peace and development is inconceivable.

What is the peace and development, we are talking about today? I am very positive person and being optimistic, I start with positive. Talk of India. Hundred crore people from different religions, different languages, different cultures, they all live together transferring democracy from one party to another in such a peaceful manner. This is spirituality. In how many countries of the world is it happening? I am not saying that everything is perfect. No! But this is the positive effect of spirituality. Let us take stock of them for a while before we test spirituality.

What happened to strongest nation of the world? Do we feel that they are developed? Is there peace? Is peace in USA, particularly after September 11? Do we still feel that those are developed countries where the divorce rate is 80 per cent? I am told that the remaining 20 per cent are preparing for divorce. The young child cannot even open his letter because there is threat of anthrax in it. He is warned not to open his own letter because there may be some explosive substance in the letter. This is the life they have given to their next generation. You say it is a developed nation. I am sorry! I do not count it so. I do not feel that they are living in peace. So much money they spend over security and make the world spend for arms. This is their contribution. Do we say they are spiritually grown? No! They are not grown. They are underdeveloped. Unless they are spiritually grown, they cannot be at peace themselves. Even the qualified people are involved in terrorist activities because of lack of spiritual development. This is because youth is being misguided. They say it is their religious duty to do that. There is another class of have-nots who are forced to do so because they have nothing else to do. Whose duty is it to utilise their energies for the development of country and if you do not use that energy in a spiritual way, in a positive way, that is bound to be utilised in a negative way.

Nida Fazli said something very beautiful: *"Har ek ghar mein diya bhi jale, chirag bhi ho, agar na ho aisa to ahtraaz bhi ho."* About the youth he says:



*“Na karte shor sharaba to aur kya karte, hamare shahr mein kuch aur kaam kaaj bhi ho”*. This Urdu poet has said that I would have no objection if everybody is getting food and basic necessities. If we talk about the youth of the world today, what else they would do but to indulge in negative activities if they do not have any positive thing to do. So how do we involve them in positive activities? Revered Swami Vivekananda was hundred percent right when he said that every soul has the potential to be divine—again talking positive, I would go a step ahead and say every soul is fundamentally divine. Every soul when option is given would act divine not cunning but yes, if there is lack of spiritual training, one would fumble more, one would falter more, one would have no concern for the society.

A country would only think of its own peace and its own development and in the process when you are looking for your own peace, the result would be that you go into pieces. You can get peace only if you believe in the principle, “Love Thy Neighbour”. Why was it said? “Love Thy Neighbour” What is this concept? “Love thy neighbour” in practical sense means if your neighbour is happy, you are happy. We are not against any grants to our neighbouring countries. We rather say give them more, but put a rider that the money has to be used for development of your citizens and not for supporting or planning terrorist activities against your neighbour. We will be very happy. But if you have double standards, you know what is happening! For one dictator — Iraq you have different policy and for another dictator you have different schemes. Then I am sorry. Your own children are not living in peace. This is your contribution to the society. You say I am the strongest nation. No!

Then India is to take lead. India has always taken lead. India should again take lead in the world of spirituality; I am convinced that only with spiritual foundation we can have peaceful development of the world. There is no other option. My dear friends, I am very clear that there is no other option and it is absolute scientific. There is nothing religious or ritual about this — absolute scientific. Professor Talwar started with a statement that those with cunning bent of mind are having more chances of heart attack. Choice is very clear. Choice is very limited to me. Should I be cunning or should I devote some time for spiritual life? Spirituality does not mean rituals. The religious confusion is one thing about which Professor Talwar was talking. I have no inhibition in saying that some of the so-called Gurus have added confusion to meaning and utility of spirituality. They are exploiting religious sentiment of the people. That is why new generation is not impressed and interested in spiritual development.

I feel, unless we put it scientifically, to convince the new generation, intellectuals and world leaders, nobody is going to follow that. You can experiment with yourself. You can just do some introspection, recollect some of the instances of your life and realise that whenever you are calm within yourself, whenever you are thinking positive about others, you will feel better inside. The crux of every religion is love, compassion and peace and not rituals.

The purpose of this meeting is to do our bit towards the useful contribution being made by great institutions like CRRID for Peace, Development and Spirituality. That is the purpose. It is not for scoring points. I started with the statement that I am a seeker and I am at the lowest rung of this august gathering. I am aware of my incompetence. I am talking from my heart and that is the problem. Since Mr. Gujral inaugurated this Seminar, I am reminded of a very beautiful Urdu couplet he recited in Seminar couple of years back '*Kuch log yahan baithe huae soch rahe hain, such bolenge jab such ke zara bhav badhenge.*' (Some people sitting here are thinking to speak the truth when the truth would fetch better price). So I got it from him, I say let me speak the truth. We are not sure of the next breath. So why should we hold our thoughts in our heart and why should we not speak plain, may be a bitter truth. So it is only with these emotions that I am saying all this. This is not to criticise anybody. I am saying that spirituality today is confused lot because of some misguiding so called Gurus /preachers and rituals. If we stick to the crux of this spirituality which is love, peace and compassion, whether you take it as Allah's message or Christ's message or whether you take it as Bhagwat Geeta's message or Guru Nanak Devji's message, "*Jin Prem Kiyo Tin Hi Prabhu Payo.*"

Everyone is talking of truth. Everybody is talking of uniting with your inner Self. What is this Self? Self is when you see inside. I am sorry the leaders have created confusion in the world because of lack of spiritual training. They do some introspection of what are they doing. There is still another question. Should we contribute billions of dollars for the millions of children, who are dying of hunger, who are not getting even toilet facilities, who are not getting medicines, who are not going to schools or spend billions of dollars on election campaigns and arms race. Things would not improve till there is spiritual training. We should contemplate and reflect.

After all why all the enlightened masters propagated silence. Why? Unless you are in silence for sometime, you would not notice what process is going in your mind. How would you notice the problem? Today most of us are very particular about our drawing rooms. Everything should be

spick and span. But what is happening in the temple of this body, many of us — especially those in power — do not analyse, do not know how to keep this temple clean of negative thoughts. How to have positive thoughts and welfare of society in mind and how to contribute their might for the society. They do not ponder over all this and that is the problem. That is where spirituality comes in. If they follow the path of spirituality as I earlier submitted, if instead of supplying arms to a country they resolve to help develop infrastructure and alleviate poverty and unemployment and further resolve to make them live for co-existence, say India and Pakistan, that would be development based upon spirituality and would bring peace. The development based upon spirituality would make them sit together. Tell them that OK, this much (one million) money we are giving you to spend for children and let be there ceasefire. There should not be any disturbance for next two years. Let's see the results. No! They do not get this much time.

The purity of thought process would come only when there is silence, there is introspection, contemplation and quietitude of mind. Why every religion is talking about silence, pure food, proper health and purity of thoughts/soul? If you have little headache you do not feel like doing any work. You say I will see it after sometimes. So unless body is fit, unless mind is fit, there cannot be any rational thinking. One question I put it to myself, why it happens that sometime, you may find some difficult and voluminous reading and in two or three hours you complete it and say Ok Mr. Rashpal we will meet in the evening. I have seen the book and let us discuss it. You are so sure about that book. You are so sure about what the author wanted to say in that book. Such a big volume and in just one hour, you grasp it and you can reproduce it like a parrot. At another time, you read a book for two hours, three hours and you do not get anything in your head. You say, I do not get anything out of that book because at that time you are mentally not focussed. Then I would say Rashpal Ji, I have not understood this book, you please explain. That means sometime we are totally focused and at another time, we are not balanced. This is only because of mental balance or quietitude of the mind. Then how to control it? Question is this. Sometime people are perfect. You say so and so 80 year old or even 90 year old is perfect. One-third of the American youth are having physical or mental problems. This is their growth, we are talking of peace and development and that to of a super power.

I will conclude thus, my considered opinion is that only spirituality can lead to over all peace and development. Spirituality stands for the crux

of religion, peace and pure soul. Spiritual means all that is connected with the spirit, not connected with material world. And those who are running after materialism they are spoiling the system of the nations and also damaging peace and development in the world. They are disturbing balanced development. Once they connect with the inner self and just do some introspection of their thought and deeds, I am sure that spirituality would bring peace and development which would be totally balanced. I would end and with a short Urdu couplet which says 'it is not that you can solve all the problems but do your bit and that should be the aim of your life.'

*"Ki le deke apne pass fakat ek nazar hi to hai,  
kiyon dekhein zindagi ko kisi aur ki nazar se hum".*  
*"Aur mana ki iss zamin ko gulzaar na kar sake,  
kuch khar to kum kar gaye guzre jidhar se hum".*



# 45

## *Science and Spirituality*

*Subhash Bakshi*

Spirituality has become the word of the hour. But what spirituality is? What does being spiritual mean? Like you, I also started finding what is spirituality? Of course, the first thing was that I talked to various spiritual persons, read books and I collected as many as 1240 definitions of spirituality. I was utterly confused about the definition of spirituality, and this led me to the conclusion that if I have to find the correct definition of spirituality, I had to find it myself. For me, as for many, spirituality means feeling at one with that which we call Divine.

If I can identify myself with that divine, I find that is being spiritual. When we think of divine, then, the problem starts. Who is the divine? What is the divine? I think our own most evolved qualities, our profound human capacity for empathy, for love, our striving for justice, our hunger for

beauty, and our yearning to create, all this is the divine. I think being spiritual means being ethical, in true sense of the word, not in some abstract way, but in action. Trusting our impulse to reach out to others, to help others, to challenge injustice not out of rage but out of love. These all to me stand for spirituality.

I believe all of us are born with the inner voice, that it is part of the essence of what makes us human beings. If you see the newborn babies, they cry when they hear another baby cry. They are born with empathy, with the capacity to feel with another but gradually the way we are brought up, we lose all that what we had imbibed. When I speak of being spiritual I do not think of it just as a personal matter. It is cultural and social in essence. And all too often it is a matter of standing up against what is presented to us as traditional wisdom.

After participating in two wars, after seeing insurgencies in Punjab, after seeing what is happening to humanity in Kashmir, in Sri Lanka, then Northeast, I cried for the faith I lost. Was GOD evil? Was GOD mad or powerless? Or, simply, non-existent? These questions started churning my mind and I realized that I must seek answers to these questions. Why the man made in the image of the God resorts to these types of activities, which he is not meant to do? Many years later, after a deep search to find the answers to these questions, I began to understand again what spirituality could be or is. Now I had a different meaning for that. It was not associating with particular deity or God or a goddess, nor was it associated meditating in a recluse mountain nor it was to withdraw from the pleasures of the life. I realized that much of what has been written about spirituality is esoteric.

But now I began to see that idealizing this way of looking at spirituality actually perpetuates injustice and suffering. Praying to a particular deity does not change the conditions that cause injustice and sufferings. The most illuminating spiritual experience to me came when I saw a sparkling smile on the face of a leprosy patient with whom I am working, when he held my hand with his fingers and pressed it. I realised that this is spirituality. When tears come out to see them suffering, I feel this is spirituality. When I was in Kupwara where a Muslim woman was gang raped by army jawans and I was full of anguish, and helped that woman to recover, I thought that was spirituality. Spirituality is when you find oneness in all. It has nothing to do with religion. We may or may not believe in God. We may or may not believe in religion, but yet we all can be spiritual.

Friends, I must tell you that, I have not come across any person, who is not spiritual. Every one of us is spiritual in one-way or the other. We

have to just look within to find that what spirituality is doing to us. We want to be at the service to others. If we apply the theory of '*Karma*', it states that God does justice as per the '*karma*' of the individual. This, however, does not mean that we leave the persons who is suffering, because that is his *karma*. We can still help that poor who is suffering. Perhaps, God wants us to do this. That is why he leads us to that direction and has given us the resources. We want to feel connected to one another.

We have come here from twenty-five countries of the world. Within five or six days we have come very close to each other. That is our true nature. We want to be dear to each other. This is one of the major motivation behind what we call 'New Spirituality'. On the one side, we still have those who incite hate and violence in the name of religion. The Chairman said, a person with the background of army and talking of spirituality is strange. Sir, We have a tradition in Punjab, particularly in the Sikh religion, of saint-soldier concept. In Sikhism, we find that most of the Sikh Gurus were soldiers. In Islam also we find that most of the prophets and their followers who attained spiritual heights were soldiers. So, I feel that there is a bonding between a soldier and spirituality. Herein we get an opportunity to see the human behaviour and death from close quarters and also observe the manifestation of the divine will in the battle field.

It was very rightly said by Professor Talwar that crimes against the humanity in the name of religion are perhaps most frequent. That is why we become averse to the religion. Is this religion? What is religion? I went through many books; I met many saints, genuine and so-called. Finally, I found one definition of religion which says, 'Anything which leads us to an eternal happiness and bliss is religion'. This is a quote of Paramhans Yogananda who happens to be my spiritual Guru. I felt that I do not want to go beyond this to know what a religion is. The key difference between spirituality and the religion is that while religion tends to be divisive, spirituality leads to unification of mankind. Spiritual consciousness is deeper, more holistic.

All through our lives we are striving and earnestly seeking happiness in the material world. But happiness is within us. The quest for happiness lies at the heart of all human beings. It is our inalienable right. When we talk of peace in the world, how could it be there when we are at war within our own selves. 'Society is now torn'. It is happening in all the countries. I receive hundreds of e-mails from various people every day who are distressed and unhappy. Why? Because, I find there is a churning and

turmoil going on within ourselves. And this is being manifested in the form of violence, which you see in the society and in the world. That is the cause of destruction of the peace. The first pre-requisite of peace is to be at peace with ourselves. Then we can hope to have peace in the world. In my life, I realised that spiritual work is not only an something inner but also having a courage to persevere in the face of violence and injustice.

Many years of my life, I lived in fear. Fear of what I say, what people feel? Fear of what I do, what people have? I found that I was in a cage. I felt suffocated. I met one divine soul who told me that if you want to be spiritual or to evolve yourself, throw fear out of your mind. And the day I threw fear out of my mind, I started living in harmony.

Many of the manifestations of the violence are out of the fear, out of insecurity in our mind. USA thought that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction and out of a feeling of insecurity did what they did. Forty seven thousand people, as per to their record, were killed and no less than six lakhs affected otherwise. What price we are paying? A super power, they call them, I say, it is a nation of the world, which is filled with fear. They are going from place to place only out of fear. If Iran had the nuclear weapon, what will happen? If Osama bin Laden captures Afghanistan, what will happen? Where they will end up? They cannot capture the whole world. All they have to do is to get this fear out of their mind, go back and have the trust in mankind. So, this fear is the one which is causing insecurity.

When we talk about development we talk about material development. We forget that man does not live on bread alone, though it is essential. We are inclined to provide resources for the under privileged. Monetary aid is there but we failed to develop the man who is to use this aid. When I was working in tribal areas I thought that before providing them the material aid, let me first bring the best out of them or make them realize the potential they have got within. These areas are rain fed. We have heavy rain during three months and the remaining nine months of the year are dry. They had lost hope and were resigned to fate. If a person loses hope, he becomes immobilized and is not capable of solving the problem. Therefore, we look up to someone who can solve such a situation. You may call it God, you may call it nature, you may call it anything, but a time comes in our lives when we find that we have to link up to someone, whom we think, can take care of ourselves and guide us. And, here spirituality comes in and it teaches us 'not to follow the dogmas blindly but to realize our potential and work for a higher self.



Question then arises, if we have to lay the foundation of spirituality, there have to be some parameters for this. On sustained reflection, I found the following as the foundational principles of spirituality:

- Unity in diversity;
- Equity and justice;
- Equality of sexes;
- Trustworthiness and moral leadership; and
- Independent investigation of truth.

I take the last one, because, it is relevant to today's topic, 'Science and Spirituality'. Where science comes in? You will find that science is very much after investigation of truth. As it discovers the truth, many myths get shattered. Reality is one, when truth is investigated by science or by other means it leads to the progress of mankind. Science and true religion are two tools available to us and must closely and continuously interact. Spiritual development involves investigating the truth for ones self. These can be applied to economic development, education, environment, governance and our participation. It is inconceivable that any lasting peace on this planet can be achieved without resolving complex of social and economic issue having a bearing on development.

To have peace in the world, we have to be at peace within ourselves. We have to ensure development of body mind and soul and thus achieve development of 'mankind'. I am sure, we all being spiritual will achieve that. I would like to end up, with a very relevant verse from the Holy Qur'an. It says that on the Day of Judgment God will say: "O peaceful soul, come and enter my paradise" (89:28). Thus, paradise is the divine haven of peace. It is only those who have proved to be Mr. peace in this world will be allowed to enter God's paradise..

# 46

## *Science and Spirituality*

*K.K. Talwar*

*I* am basically a medical scientist, and frankly, away from the spiritual leaders or Gurus. However, when Malhotra *Sahib* asked me to talk on spirituality in Science, I didn't want to say no for one reason — during my practice of Cardiology, I have found that people who are spiritually inclined seem to get fewer heart attacks; and being a cardiologist I am interested to explore and to find out what this really means. Should people follow spirituality — there is abundance of the so-called *Gurus* and saints in India. Can the followers of these *Gurus* or these *Gurus* themselves be called spiritual or is there something else to it?

My own view, which I have formed that being a follower of a *Guru* and being spiritual are two entirely different things. I also realized that the people who follow good spiritual habits are the ones who can be called truly spiritual, and they are the ones less prone to heart attacks.

There are many saints who can speak about spirituality for hours and days at a stretch. Volumes of literature have been published on spirituality. To be frank, I have never attended any of the sessions of such Gurus and have not been able to read the voluminous literature available on the topic. In this write-up, I will briefly share with you my thoughts on the topic, what, according to me, spirituality is all about, and will try to examine how spirituality can help science and how both can coexist.

Most of us are aware of the fact that science and religion have often conflicted with each other. There are numerous examples. For instance, all historians have written about how the Church has opposed every innovation and discovery from the day of Galileo down towards our own time, when the use of anesthetics in childbirth was regarded a sin because it avoided the biblical curse pronounced against Eve, as pointed out by Mark Twain. Other religions and many Gurus have not been far behind and have always sought an opportunity to criticize science. It is such biased explanation of science that starts the conflicts.

For example, when we talk about organ transplantation, some spiritual leaders say that by donating organs you can create problems for yourself. According to them, "When you are dead, you will wander around your physical remains for a while ('after death')". Somebody donates heart, somebody donates liver, somebody donates kidney. One person can save eight lives. Science says that a person can have two lungs transplant, one heart transplant, two kidneys transplant, one pancreas transplant. One spiritual Guru terms 'Genetic manipulation, cloning and organ transplantation' as "three evil deeds". Moreover, most of the Gurus and religions do not believe in the Darwin's theory of evolution and debates continue. This is one of another points where religion and science come into conflict with each other. Eclipses were considered (in India, still are!) wraths of Gods. It is easy to say that faith should not be mixed with science but then how and why do we ignore the role of celestial motions in causing eclipses? Similarly, earthquakes were considered to be the penalty we pay for our bad deeds. Such an argument does appear attractive but the scientists tell us that these occur because of movements of tectonic plates — another contradiction.

Most of us have heard prophetic statements like "the world will end in 100 years or so" spoken by various modern Nostradamuses. In response to such statements, Stephen Hawking, a great scientist, jokingly made a declaration in 1979: "The end of physics might come within twenty years." Twenty years later when reminded of his declaration, he remarked that he did not say when the twenty year period starts!

## Relationship between Religion, Spirituality and Science

I think these three words — religion, spirituality, and science — and other related concepts need to be carefully understood with respect to the differences and similarities between them and I will briefly share my views on that.

**Religion:** Religion means different things to different people, for example:

- Hindus believe in spirituality in religion and in multiple Gods.
- Christians believe in God or Christ.
- Muslims believe in Allah.

I feel that religions were born out of some form of injustice or social chaos prevalent in the period of their birth. Interestingly, founders of religion used peaceful means and there is no doubt that the basic purpose of all religions was to see that mankind lives in peace and harmony. No religion preaches violence or hatred. However, how often do we see people spreading hatred and killing others just in the name of religion? Was this the idea that the creators of these religions had in mind when they initiated their religions? Could these Godly souls on whose teachings different religions got established ever imagined during their lifetimes that their followers would use their teachings for spreading revulsion and bloodshed? I wonder if they would like to take another birth to undo what is being done in their names.

It thus came as no surprise to me when the results of a poll conducted by the *Guardian*/ICM published in December 2006 showed that more people in Britain think religion causes harm rather than it does good. The results showed that an overwhelming majority (82% of those questioned) see religion as a cause of division and tension — greatly outnumbering the smaller majority who believe that it can be a force for good (18%).

Here I would like to give an example from Galileo's period (emphasis mine): "His Holiness decreed that the said Galileo is to be interrogated with regard to his intention, even with the threat of torture... the inquisitor in Florence shall read publicly the sentence in the presence of as many as possible of those who profess the mathematical art"— Papal decision, entered into the record of the Holy office, 1633. In order to avoid punishment from the religious leaders of that time, this is what Galileo had to say: "I, Galileo, son of the late Vincenzo Galileo of Florence, being 70 years old...swear that...entirely to abandon the false opinion that Sun is the center of the Universe and immovable, and that the Earth is not the center of the same and that it moves. ...And I swear that for the future I shall neither



say nor assert orally or in writing such things as may bring upon me similar suspicions.....”

On the positive side, the Catholic Church now admits that the “Galileo incident” was a “mistake” that occurred because the Church confused religious dogma with a matter of science. That is why Louis Agassiz, one of the “founding fathers” of the modern American scientific tradition, has said that every great scientific truth goes through three stages:

- First, people say it conflicts with the Bible
- Next they say it had been discovered before, and
- Lastly, they say they always believed it.

**Spirituality:** The basic theme of all spirituality matters is that God envelopes the universe and is the power controlling this universe and every aspect of our lives. God said: Build a better of you. What science has not been able to explain becomes the domain of spirituality, for example consciousness of mind. An important thing to realize is what science has not been able to explain 'till now', it will possibly do so in years to come and that has to come out of spiritualism. All of us know that fire was worshipped as God before people could know the details about it. There are scores of similar examples.

**Science:** It is nothing but knowledge arranged in an orderly manner, especially, knowledge obtained by testing, observation and empiricism. According to religion what really matters is what is in your heart; if you have good intentions, and are trying to do what God says is right — it is perfectly OK, but not in science. “It would depend upon evidence rather than personal beliefs, intentions count for nothing” says DC Denett, a well known philosopher and author of several books on the topic.

**Science:** The pitfalls of science may be listed as follows:

- Over-specialization / Compartmentalization.
- Healthcare workers can be detached from patients.
- Simply focus on a narrowly defined scope of intervention.
- Over-commercialization.
- Many unanswered questions.

**Prayer:** Most of the spiritual leaders believe that prayer has strong healing properties even if it is intercessory (prayer on behalf of others). However, as far as scientists are concerned, they are reluctant to believe in such arguments and they always look for evidence. I can recollect two recent studies published in two of the most prestigious medical journals,

*The Lancet* (2005) and *American Heart Journal* (2006). Both the studies were quite large and done according to the well-established scientific designs that are acceptable worldwide. Both were double blind studies with neither the patients nor the physicians knowing which patients were prayed for and which were not. *The Lancet* study was called “Music, imagery, touch, and prayer as adjuncts to interventional cardiac care: Monitoring and Actualisation of Noetic Trainings (MANTRA) II randomised study” and the *American Heart Journal* study was called “Study of the Therapeutic Effects of Intercessory Prayer (STEP) in cardiac bypass patients: a multicenter randomized trial of uncertainty and certainty of receiving intercessory prayer”. There were 748 patients in the MANTRA Study and 1802 in the STEP Study. Both the studies had similar conclusion: Intercessory prayer itself had no effect on complication-free recovery from heart surgery. However, interestingly, there was an additional third group in the STEP study that included patients who were aware that someone is praying for them. This group was associated with the highest incidence of complications.

Despite the above studies, I do not feel that we should not pray. There is nothing negative in it. Perhaps these approaches strengthen your beliefs and enable you to deal with even the most unfortunate events in your lives in a better manner. However, we have to keep in mind that there may be problems associated with a particular belief or faith. For example, most of the capsules that patients need to consume are made of animal material. We often see patients landing up in emergency who had stopped taking our treatment and had opted for non-conventional therapies purely on the basis of “faith”. I, like any other scientist, strongly disapprove of and discourage such attitudes and practices.

But I would like to come back to my earlier statement that people with clean minds and following spiritual practices probably have lesser heart attacks than those who don't, specially persons with a negative and/or cunning bent of mind. I think this was the statement that stimulated me to delve deeper into the aspects of spirituality. More questions then come to mind like if it is so, then how does it happen? And what could be the reason for this?

Interestingly, scientists have discovered an area in brain which, when stimulated, evokes divine feelings. The question is how does it help? Whether these types of spiritual habits help in your immune system, in strengthening the power of mind over body, or in secretion of certain hormones which are important for evolving yourself, or is there any other

factor which may be operational. There are sufficient uncertainties on this issue yet and it will take some time before science is able to uncover this mystery.

### A Possible Explanation

WHO's definition of health today is: "Physical, mental, social, emotional and spiritual health". In my view, spirituality does not mean blindly following a cult or the self-styled Gurus, nor does it mean endlessly praying. Spiritual habits help us to get rid of our greed, passion, anger, lust, attachments. Spirituality is the true *karma*.

Some of the spiritual habits include:

- Keep faith in yourself
- Do selfless service to mankind
- Love all
- Be compassionate

An adherence these spiritual habits may lead to secretion of certain hormones which are very helpful for a healthy body.

Further, there are three principal *gunas* in the Hindu religion:

- Sattva (*satvik*)
- Rajas (*Rajasvik*)
- Tamas (*Tamsvik*)

Depending on these *gunas*, a person's mental disposition (*svabhava*) can be *sattvic*, *rajasic*, or *tamasik*. The austerity if practiced by steadfast people with great *sadhna* desiring no fruit with sacrificing motive is said to be *satvik*. The austerity which is practiced with the object of honour, gain and with orientation is *rajsvik*. The austerity which is practiced out of foolish notion with self torture or for the purpose of ruining others is declared as *tamsik*. It is imperative that we understand that this distinction is applicable to all our actions. According to Gita, the root of all evil is in the mind and therefore, it is important that we improve our thinking process (become *sattviks*) and the actions will take care of themselves. It is entirely possible that *satvik* thoughts and actions positively influence our biological systems, and help maintain good health. Perhaps these mysteries will be better understood and explained by scientists in the years to come.

### Science and Spirituality: Are They Compatible?

Despite inevitable conflicts, science, religion and New Age spirituality can be essentially compatible and may even be complementary. USA is the most successful scientific nation of this era but Church-going remains strong and 'New Age' spirituality is thriving; though the same cannot be said about Britain and some other European countries. I also feel

that, with time, in future, science will continue to win territory from spirituality/religion since its validation procedures are more objective and reliable. However, spirituality can survive and grow by dropping those aspects of doctrine which clash with science, and expanding its social functions as was pointed out by BG Charlton, a noted psychologist and philosopher.

## Conclusion

The spiritual habits that can be considered a part of our medical profession include:

- The way you interact with your patients
- The way in your thoughts look for a better method of treatment
- The way through ethically conducted research you try to make that thought come true

Even when we are not intending to cure a patient, for example in case of a patient with an incurable disease, most of us often pray for that patient's health.

Spirituality should reflect in your deeds, actions, habits and your day-to-day work. These habits help to keep the body healthy through mechanisms that are not clearly understood, yet. That is the reason WHO has included spiritual health as part of its definition of health. We don't have all the answers yet but once we know spirituality and science will come closer, we will have moved one step forward.



# 47

## *Science and Spirituality*

*R.C. Sobti and V.L. Sharma*

One of the aims of science has been to provide a basis for physical comfort and well being and to cater for satisfaction of our fine senses. The aim of spiritualism has long been considered achieving blissful state of mind and realizing the truth for inner satisfaction. The science and spirituality had remained contradictory for long but they are complimentary to each other. Both are in fact in search of truth — truth about oneself and truth about the nature of this universe. The methodology they employ is different but the issue is the same. Modern science employs observation and experimentation through medium of external world whereas spirituality does it through inner world.

Both, scientists and mystics, seek unity in universe or reality. A parallel principle drives both scientists and mystics to an assumption that unity lies at the heart of our world and that it can be discovered and

experienced by man. Scientist approaches the question of unity through his scientific method and reasoning, the mystic approaches it through self knowledge. The methodology of science is quantitative and mathematical; the methodology of mysticism is meditational. Scientific method is cognitive and analytical; it studies the universe piecemeal; it claims its results to be objective and value free. The mystic's unity is experiential — it is union with the infinite.

Spirituality concerns itself with matters of spirit. The central defining characteristics of spirituality is a sense of connection to a much greater whole which includes an emotional experience of religious awe and reverence. Spirituality is central to religious experiences and is component of religion related phenomena and movements. Spirituality influences matters of sanity and psychological health. Its emphasis is on personal experience. So it is the person's sensitivity to the intangible or invisible aspect of human nature (experience of spirit) comprising specifically of faculties of intellect agency (will) and affection (emotion).

There is a biological basis of these experiences. Spirit is basically emissions of information and spiritual phenomena is exchange of information. Photons of action are the carriers of all transfers of kinetic energy from one body to other (Clayton). Photons take shape when body is alive and retain that information content or pattern of energy distribution when a person dies. If one looks for concrete link between the physical and spiritual, the concept of photons-of-information seems to volunteer for the jobs. Biology can cause spiritual experiences, particularly the altered consciousness.

Spirituality is the consciousness of Soul, (*Atma*). It is about inculcating a thought that there exists a Divine Force, the ultimate power and the creator of this universe, *Paramatma*. On the other hand the basis of science can be defined as 'An accident followed by a continuous and dedicated thought over it'. This statement clearly explains the origin of many great theories — Sir Isaac Newton conceived the concept of Gravity when an apple fell on his head; James Watt invented Steam engines after the power of steam in a pressure cooker; Archimedes gave world his laws governing a floating body by accidentally dropping his King's crown in his bathtub. Basically a focused mind at rest or peace reveals many great mysteries of life. Spirituality has its own ways of attaining this focused and peaceful state of mind by practicing meditation (*Dhayan*) and Yoga.

Spiritualism is a multifaceted science. It imbibes many aspects of human life and evolution. Spiritual knowledge generally refers to the

ancient knowledge, a superset of knowledge, which gives all information beyond the physical world (fields around physical matter) and annihilation of physical world (mass getting converted into energy). Science is the knowledge acquired systematically and needs physical system for verification. Thus it is confined to physical world and is a subset of super set ancient knowledge. For science, physically realizable is fact and whatever is physically not realizable is a fiction. But things which do not have scientific explanation today may become part of science tomorrow. There are many examples from our ancient knowledge which were unrealizable hundred years ago but they have become scientific realities in today's world.

### **Ancient Indian Literature**

**Ramayana:** The intellectual analysis of study of Ramayana reveals that *Agneyastra* and *Brahmastra*, the weapons given to Ram by Vishwamitra and Agastya rishi were the analogs of missiles and atomic bombs of present day 'scientific inventions'. *Pushpak Viman* could be the aeroplane of yesterdays. A master piece of civil engineering, the *Ram Sethu* from Rameshwaram to Lanka still exists as realized by remote sensing and other scientific tools.

**Mahabharata:** Today we talk about embryo transplant and test tube babies, the birth of Balram and Kauravas that was unbelievable and called just the myths a century ago, can be considered today as the same scientific achievements of the past. The *Divyadrishti* of Sanjay can be equated with TV of today, enabling him to narrate the war to blind Dhritrashtra. It was considered unbelievable and imaginative story that Arjuna went to moon for *tapasya* (meditation), but when American Neil Armstrong landed on moon, it became a believable reality of scientific advancements during that period.

These and many other were the scientific discoveries revealed in the form of historical events and their knowledge was codified in Vedas to keep destructive power of these technologies beyond the reach of common man. However, with sincere efforts one can always decodify the information from Vedas and use the same.

**Upanishadas:** Furthermore, there is a close correlation between *Puranic* description and scientific estimations with respect to velocity, light, periods of revolution of Earth, Moon, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn and average distances of planets from Sun. The timings of sunrise, sunset, solar and lunar eclipses were well known in ancient science. So, one can say that when so many facts and figures given by ancient knowledge are found

explainable by today's science then the remaining facts and figures unexplainable by today's science, are also true.

With progress in quantum physics, science is moving away from Newtonian viewpoint to world of energy and consciousness. This is the right time for scientists and spiritual masters to join hands for fusion helping each other. An experienced master with complete knowledge of human *chakra* system, *kundalini* and aura can help scientists in the development of sophisticated software for analysis and diagnosis of human health by analyzing their aura and help in prediction and thereby prevention of diseases which have not yet manifested in physical body.

Science and technology can prove spiritual plane of existence. For example, an aura reading device, which can clearly demonstrate the existence of bio-electric field around body, can predict diseases and demonstrate the harmful effects of anger, violence and depression on human physiology and reveal real nature of people. This can bring a revolution in people's lives.

It is well evidenced today that heart of an individual has an electromagnetic field 5000 times greater than that of brain, which can be measured with magnetometers upto 10 feet beyond the physical body. This provides support for the spiritual teachings that indicated the existence of energy fields (aura), which can intermingle with those in vicinity.

## Cultural Traditions

Our cultural traditions, which we associate with one or other religion, all have scientific basis. The purpose of all those traditions and rituals was health, prosperity, biodiversity conservation and national integration. There can be given many examples of them.

We eat *Paan* (beetle) and we present it to *Devi-Devtas* (Goddess and God). Why? Because there is an indication, that there is chlorophyll which has free radical squanger. Another thing, cooking of "*Halwa Kaddu* (pumpkin pudding)' on special days, especially '*Sawan*' (spring) has a significance. '*Kaddu*' contains lot of sugar and we add '*methi dana*' (fenugreek seeds) to it (where there is diabetic patient, we give fenugreek seeds to him/her) which negates the effect of sugar. So we have been associating all these things with one or the other occasion, as they are associated with our health and if we know about our health only then we can progress. All these things have a scientific explanation. There are many other examples which represent national integration. We offer 'Coconut' to Goddess at Vaishno Devi and we offer Ganga water at Rameshwaram. Does it mean that Durga



likes only Coconut and Rameshwaram only Ganga Water. It is not a superstition of Hinduism. It is national integration. Well, people from North go to South and share their culture, share their feelings. Anything and everything we talk about as our religious rituals, they all had well thought of reasons underneath them. The scientific knowledge is yet not complete to prove them in a modern way. The real first environmentalist was Lord Krishna. We talk a lot about environment today. If you read '*Vishnu Purana*', it says do not worship God, you have never seen Him, worship this *Goverdhan Parbat*, this maintains the environment, this mountain gives you everything. It gives you rain. Is it Hinduism or Science? It is culture which is based on science.

Even if we look at different religions as such they all propagate the same thing. They emphasize on positive thinking (*satvik* thought) and avoid negative thinking (*tamasik* thoughts). The former leads to pleasure and the latter to depression. They preach to plant trees, respect them and not to kill or hurt animals. Today we talk about bio-diversity conservation at global level. These and many other things are in our culture and our tradition. Today we frame laws to forcibly restrict animal killing. In ancient culture, these things were associated with religion, making it compulsory to follow certain principles as a part of daily life. Even the 'Yoga' has a scientific base. We have to see what is good for us.

Most unfortunate point is that we discard our own culture associating it with one or the other religion but when the same ideas or observations are transferred via West or Europe we accept them as golden principles. For examples, we never used to have carpets. We used to have tiles, because that keeps the house clean. We started using carpets. Today, the Western world has removed the carpets and we have also started removing them. Well, we know that carpets contain so many microbes and they are unhealthy for us. Now we are realizing that what our forefathers used to say. Even that '*Bidi*' (type of cigarette), which we use to smoke has a 'scientific base'. Tobacco causes cancer whereas chlorophyll of the leaves quenches that. The cigarette that we smoke, is prepared by a process using 100's of chemicals. Our '*Devi-Devtas*' (goddess and god) have been shown to have animals as their carriers. What does that signify? Can Ganesha sit on a rat? No, but it has shown the importance of rat over our eco-system. Just imagine, a field not having snakes, what will happen? Rats will create havoc over it. One of the South American Countries once exported snakes and next year the produce was much low. They had to import back the snakes because of their importance and that is what Lord Shiva indicates.

Science and spiritualism both aim at humanitarian approach towards life to become sincere and sensible human beings, to respect all forms of Mother Nature — plants, animals and other fellow beings. Instead of restricting ourselves to our own pleasures we should have a broader outlook and inculcate an urge of happiness for all and work for that. We should respect our culture for environment protection, conservation of biodiversity and national integration that will be helpful in bringing prosperity to human race.

People who meditate regularly do carry an enviable sense of calm. Neuro-scientists have shown that by altering brain wave patterns, the discipline purges negative thoughts. Experienced meditators are calmer in their response to everyday stress and perform better at tasks requiring focused attention. Some scientists even believe that the some brain changes could even confer physical benefits.

Esoteric and spiritual teachers have known for ages that our body is programmable by language, words and thoughts. This has now been scientifically proven and explained, of course the frequency has to be correct and that is why everybody is not equally successful or can do it with always the same strength. Chinese researchers have shown that DNA can be influenced and reprogrammed by words and frequencies.

Similarly, weather as a rule is difficult to be influenced by single individual. Since it is influenced by resonance frequencies of earth, the frequencies similar to that are also produced by brain. So when many people synchronize their thinking or individuals focus their thoughts in laser like fashion, they can influence weather. Some tribes do rain dances or *mantras* to bring rain.

Sometimes detection is not necessary for existence. For example, the wave function  $\psi$  of quantum mechanical system serves to measure many observables, of the system but the wave function itself remains elusive to any measurement. As the wave function is not observable can we say that it does not exist? It certainly serves as a vehicle to measure all observables and is like a catalyst. The virtue of wave function lies in its non-observability and non measurability and is more powerful than observables. The same holds good for the virtue of many spiritual experiences.

A computer has two parts, the hardware (monitor, CPU, keyboard etc.) which is a visible component and software (loaded in its memory) that controls and organizes the computer. If we want to know the shape, size

and color of software, it is not possible even if we open it and take out every part of it. However, we all know that without software, computer will not work. At the same time software can also not work without hardware and cannot show its existence. In the same way our body is like hardware and the life in it is software which is invisible as a component and can only be felt.

Just as a radioactive particle can decay immediately or may not decay for a long time, the beckoning signal of the supreme is instantly received by some persons and for some others the response may be delayed for a long time.

Any matter according to science is composed of atoms, where electrons revolve around the nucleus in a very meticulous way. The cause of this movement is energy. The universe was also created by some energy. The common practice of *Pranic* healing is based on the concept that every thing in this world is associated with some energy. They channelize this energy to cure the person. A branch of science is doing research to find out that energy and decode the mysteries of the ultimate power. The mysteries which govern our universe can be found through spirituality and to find them one needs to get more deeper into it. The more you go in, more comes out (revealed out).

Science is based on experiments conducted on anything on earth. Scientists carry out experiments based on a hypothesis or a principle. They prove their findings on scientific lines. After sufficient proof only they declare it to the world in an appropriate manner. Spirituality relates to religion and the realization of the soul (self). It is a kind of introspection. It deals with cleansing of mind and traditional aspects of religion. It is one's own experience. Both are experiments but there are differences between two. One is terrestrial (of the earth) and other is celestial (of the cosmos).

The holographic model of universe by David Bohm, a Physicist and similar model of human brain functioning by Karl Pribram, a Psychoneuro Immunologist suggests that outer and inner worlds are governed by same principles and the basis of all there is the energy transfer. Man is replica of universe whatever exists in universe is contained in human being also.

Science and spirituality both are meant for human beings. Science promotes materialistic attitude in the human beings and spiritualism injects an aversion towards such materialistic attitude. Both the edges of sciences are sharp. It promotes prosperity and also causes destruction simultaneously. It has constructive element, running concurrently with the

destructive element, whereas spiritualism promotes realistic prosperity alone. It has no destructive element. Definitely spiritualism stands one edge above the science. Coming to human beings, they enjoy the fruits of scientific labour besides chewing the spiritualistic capsules. The ultimate aim of human beings is attainment of peace of mind. Choose science for materialistic prosperity and use conscience for realistic prosperity. As such science and spirituality co-exist besides being inter-dependent. In societal context, science helps us in solving the problem of poverty and spiritualism checks the undue greed of people and as such the synthesis of science and spiritualism can lead to the establishment of ideal society for good living of the people at large.

This is the time when combined powers of spiritual and scientific knowledge are needed to take humanity out of present problems and dangers and ensure its holistic progress.

Science without spirituality is suicidal and spirituality without science is incomplete. If both are matched together, we can facilitate people to realize the essence of life.



**SECTION XI**  
*Special Lectures*



# 48

## *Role of Judiciary and Human Rights in Strengthening the Process of Peace and Development*

*H.R. Bhardwaj*

*E*xcellencies and distinguished friends, I am grateful to Shri Malhotra Ji, who gave me this opportunity to interact with such distinguished guests. I had closely known Shri Haksar Ji. He was a unique personality, who devoted his whole life in nation-building and for the cause of democracy, peace, disarmament and various other subjects. During the regime of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, he was very dynamic civil servant who served his country till his last breath.

I am particularly happy to associate myself with this discussion on Human Rights and Role of Judiciary. I need not take your time to say that Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948 is indeed a landmark in the history of mankind because it laid down principles of freedom of speech and expression, freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, freedom from want and so

on. So far as these Declarations are concerned, I would straightaway submit before you that India, from very ancient times, recognized all these principles. We are a very ancient civilization. Our civilization enunciated the very doctrine of *Vasudev Kutumbkam*, implying that this whole world is one family. The concept of Brahma in the Vedas enunciates that there is one creator of this universe. He creates it, sustains it and absorbs it. That is the concept from ancient times that India has believed in and therefore we do not discriminate between people and people. We are one family of brothers and sisters and that is what Vivekanand declared in Chicago World Religion Assembly and that is the only concept which can keep this world free from violence and other problems. In the Indian context, I would remind all of you that the father of nation, Mahatma Gandhi chose certain principles at the time of leading the freedom movement. According to my study of Mahatma Gandhi, the first principle is truth, second principle is peace and the third principle — the most vital — is non-violence. Then he talked of compassion and tolerance and he wanted to liberate his people from a mighty empire. That is the precedent before India. We have succeeded in doing so not through naxalism, or terrorism or from violence. We in India had rejected violence. We had neither crusade nor *jihad*.

We had compassion, tolerance and truth. Truth is synonymous with justice. According to my interpretation of religion, it is righteousness and not rituals. Righteousness applies to all humanity whether one is an Indian or a foreigner. If you believe in righteousness, if you believe in the *dharma*, then you have to treat every soul, every creature equally. I am happy, there are very positive trends all over the world now and leading personalities like Nelson Mandela, Desman Toto and several other friends are moving in the direction of value-based politics. And this is indeed the time when friends like you must ponder over how to bring thinking people together and evolve a new value-based thinking in the world.

I would now come to the topic, which has been assigned to me. Malhotra Ji wanted me to dwell on the role of judiciary in promotion of human rights. I would submit before this august gathering that the very Resolution which Jawaharlal Nehru put before the Constituent Assembly — the historic objective resolution — states that he dreams of India as an independent sovereign republic wherein is guaranteed and secured to all its people, justice — social, economic, political; equality of status, of opportunity before law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality; and wherein adequate safeguards shall be provided to minorities, backward classes, tribals and depressed classes. Our leaders fought the



freedom movement on the basis of certain ideals or values, which were dear to them. I am very happy that in the whole process of Constitution making, they adhered to these principles. From outside world, they borrowed Magna Carta, the US Bill of Rights and countries adhering to such principles.

Our Constitution is a document which assures various Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles which have a fairly good balance. The Directive Principles of State Policy require the State to proceed in this direction. According to Objective Resolution, promises made to the people during freedom struggle would be honoured and Fundamental Rights are one such thing. They made all efforts to enshrine Fundamental Rights within the Constitution itself and made them justiciable. The justiciability was provided through Article 32 of the Indian Constitution by which people could approach the higher courts for redressal of any violation of such rights.

This is the basis of our parliamentary democracy. It is governed by the rule of law. So violence has no place in our society. India is a welfare State, which has taken oath to serve the people on the basis of equality. We provide protective discrimination in favour of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and others, including the women in particular. So human rights are guaranteed in the framework of our Constitution and courts assure that human rights are protected.

In the early years, as a young lawyer, I argued several cases, particularly in the 80s. The Supreme Court, after Maneka Gandhi's case, laid down certain principles. I will state a few of them which were pronounced by Justice Bhagwati. He was the first Judge who gave a new dimension to the interpretation of Article 21 of the Constitution. He laid down that the State action must be reasonable and should not suffer from the virus of arbitrariness. Also, equality is anti-arbitrariness and it must be adhered to. It is for the first time that Indian judiciary came out of the court rooms and went to the people, saw the sufferings, and came back to the court and gave their judgement. For the first time, Indian Supreme Court Judges took an active role in giving relief to small petitions, received direct from individuals.

This was the beginning. Thereafter we have never looked back. On small matters of civil and criminal nature, the Supreme Court provided relief to the people who suffered when their human rights were violated. I remember one case, particularly, where the judiciary went out of the way. They observed the condition of the slum dwellers in Bombay in the famous

Ollis Telga's case against the Municipal Corporation of Bombay. They provided relief to lacs and lacs of people who were living as slum dwellers. Chief Justice Chandrachud delivered an outstanding judgement and thereafter it was the State which arose to action and started building new houses for those people who were living in unhygienic conditions.

So, Supreme Court had played a very dynamic role in promotion of human rights. They have been expanding the interpretation of Article 21 of the Constitution to a direction which came as a surprise to many. But the fact is that Article 21 is the hub of all other articles — the right to life. Within the right to life has come almost everything where the Supreme Court can grant relief. Recently in Delhi, when there was pollution, the Supreme Court gave direction that the buses and vehicles should use CNG. On the environmental side, this was the first opening towards the environment law. Delhi is much more easy to breath in than it was before. Similarly, on forests, the Supreme Court gave directions to State to stop degrading them and protected vast forest areas from further degradation. So this role of the judiciary is indeed laudable and people have more confidence in this system where courts are looking into diverse areas of violation of human rights.

Then there is very complicated area of human rights, particularly in the context of criminal law. I have been the student of human rights and feel greatly concerned with the issue of the 'right to be presumed as innocent'. This is a very critical area which will be of some interest. The European Court, despite opposition, held that the right to be presumed innocent is a basic fundamental right. In India, it was already there in the system of criminal jurisprudence. The Indian Constitution also guarantees such rights, for example, right to silence. An accused cannot be used as a witness against himself and he can keep silent and the whole burden of proving the case is on the prosecution. Then there is right against self-incrimination, and right to be presumed innocent. They are dealt with together, in the form of presumption of innocence unless proved guilty. In an English case of 1935 (appeal cases), One Vice Chancellor of England held that there is a golden thread in the whole web of criminal justice of UK, i.e., the right of presumption of innocence. And around this, the whole criminal law has been built in all civilized societies. No civilized society can say that State has presumed somebody guilty. You have to prove guilty. So, this is one of the greatest protections, which is given in the Indian Constitution itself, notwithstanding the fact that it was already present in our procedural law.

So Indian Constitution has protected these three basic elementary human rights. But then there was a mandate of the United Nations' General

Assembly and India is the signatory to all the agreements and declarations. So India enacted a law which established a powerful Human Rights Commission at the apex level in New Delhi, headed by a Chief Justice along with two other judges, either of Supreme Court or Chief Justice of High Court, and a very highly qualified and experienced civil servant. This is the composition of the National Human Rights Commission. Initially there were some teething problems, but now after its establishment all States have been asked to appoint their own Human Rights Commissions and coordinate with National Human Rights Commission.

I am so proud of this Institution. Today, it is helping the courts in tackling the violation of human rights and courts are getting substantial feedback from this Human Rights Commission. So, India is developing its jurisprudence, I think, ahead of several other countries, and I may be permitted to say so, because we are a vast country, and, of course, with a federal structure. Mostly, violation takes place in the States. They must get the feedback from the region. All Human Rights Commissions are headed by judges. No Chairman is below the rank of High Court judge. They have done very good work despite very difficult circumstances.

People also must be aware that the civil service is the steel frame around which our government is working. It is a permanent body. So, they have been given security of tenure all over India. Our Prime Minister feels that all high level civil servants must be protected from interference. We have started giving full security of tenure. So, India is proceeding with great speed in maintaining the Human Rights. And as per Judiciary, I may say so, the Indian Supreme Court is the most powerful court in the world. There is nothing like this either in the House of Lords or US Supreme Court. They can declare any law passed by the Parliament as null and void. They can also set aside the Amendment of the Constitution.

You see the history of India. Nehru ushered in Land Reforms. This was a promise made during the freedom struggle. Some of the courts struck this down, being violative of the right to Property and fundamental rights. Nehru went back to Parliament and said, "I have made promises to people of India to distribute wealth, lands, everything equally to the people, so I want to bring these reforms". Thereafter, the first Constitutional Amendment was passed in 1951. It was challenged in the Supreme Court and I remember that the great Chief Justice of India, Patanjali Shastri gave a classical judgement that, "Yes, there is no violation of fundamental rights. State has a right. State has a directive policy in which it is provided that the wealth of this country should be equally distributed and Government has a right to do that".



Thereafter, the Constitutional jurisprudence has been interpreted according to the circumstances. So, what was the state of affairs when the first case on liberty — A.K. Gopalan's case — arose. The court upheld the preventive detention laws. Later on, how much Supreme Court has changed? It is hardly possible to uphold any preventive detention now, and we have laid down the safeguards one after the other. When we pass any law which is highly rudimentary in nature, the Supreme Court pulls it down, so that it is consistent with the human rights.

So there is the policy of checks and balances in human rights. After all, no right should go against the interest of the society. I remember when the judgement was delivered by Lord Cook, who was the then President of New Zealand Court. When one of his own friends in Australia, Michael Crabbier, criticized him in one of the articles stating that 'I don't agree with you'. Lord Cook observed something very important. He said, 'besides human rights it was a case of torture, and torture during the interrogation by police'. And when it was put to him whether it is legitimate for police to torture a person during interrogation? Lord Cook said, 'Torture cannot be the basis of any civilized society. It must be rejected'. And he said, 'Even Parliament cannot make a law providing torture, for instance, in the administration of justice'. But a contra-view was taken by one of the Lords in England – Lord Mullen. He remarked, 'Sometimes police has to resort to certain elementary touch to get confession and try to get the true facts'. These are two different views. But a civilized society cannot afford torture. Because this is justice which you are giving. You must be civilized enough in administration of justice, and India firmly believes in this.

Despite very turbulent times which our society is facing, we have strong commitment towards protection of human rights and upholding judicial independence at all times. In the Constituent Assembly, Pt. Nehru declared that, "I want independent judges. I want judges who can criticize the government if we go wrong". These are his words. Our judges can criticize the government if there is any arbitrariness or wrong action. India believes in strong human rights movement.

Now we have removed the barriers. We have opened up another very important area — the discriminatory treatment met to women. In several resolutions, we have declared our intention to remove all gender bias in legislative enactments and we have been doing it for the last two years. We have amended several laws in favour of human rights. Women, children, Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and minorities, they do not get proper treatment on most of the occasions. And it is their right — right



of equality enshrined in the Constitution that they must be given their due. So giving due is really the justice.

What is justice? Giving everybody his due. So that is why I say that in Indian context it has larger meaning. Because of our culture, other civilizations, what is enshrined in our emblem — National Emblem — *Satyamev Jayate* — Truth alone triumphs. This is what was followed by Gandhi Ji. All our founding fathers were of this character and they built India on this basis. We are not a very rich country and that is besides the point. We have a high moral character, which is that we do not discriminate between people and people. Second very important thing in India is that we treat our guest as God — *Atithi Devo Bhava*. So we treat any person who comes to India as a symbol of God. And we treat him with great respect and dignity.

We have allowed all faiths to flourish in India. The greatest achievement in India, according to me, is to keep the purity of India intact. How difficult is it to keep the Hindus, the Muslims — the largest population of Muslims — and the Christians together knit. We have Buddhists and Jains. The great religion which has taken birth in India is Sikhism — a highly value-based religion. Sikhism was founded by Guru Nanak Dev to uphold human rights because in our ancient days we had class division. One class was deprived of all fundamental rights. They were untouchables. Guru Nanak Dev Ji promoted equality. He gave full opportunity to the depressed and underprivileged. He went even further, when he said, 'No, I would treat the Muslims also equally'. He became very popular amongst Muslims also. I am told and I may be correct that he also performed Haj and if you had read *Guru Granth Sahib Ji*, you will find Baba Farid extensively being quoted. This whole *Guru Granth Sahib* contains messages of every religion in a condensed form. This is India.

We have great regards for every religion. The small communities like Jews and Parsees have also enriched India in great measure. The last Jew I met was David — a film actor. Everybody used to call him Uncle David, after his famous film. He was a communist in his thinking. I saw Raj Kapoor's picture '*Boot Polish*', what a performance he gave and became very popular. But what happened ultimately, he had to migrate, I do not know why. General Jacob was my friend who was Governor here. He was a Jew. He led the armed forces in the Bangladesh War. Through all this, India has demonstrated to the world that tolerance, compassion, truth — all these human rights are to be honoured.

Therefore, one must guarantee independence to judiciary because this is a final arbitrator of what is wrong and what is right. Many people

accuse me as a Minister that you are giving too much liberty to judicial independence. I said this is not my commitment, it is the commitment of the founding fathers of the country that judiciary must be allowed to have full play to perform as per rules. More and more human rights are being expanded, more and more solutions to problems are coming. So, therefore, as Prof. Ayer spoke on Naxal problem. We had known these areas but could not succeed and many lives have been lost. What happened in Bengal when Sidharth Shankar Ray was the Chief Minister? Then in Andhra Pradesh. Ultimately, you have to talk on the table within the framework of the Constitution.

In a constitutional society, you cannot resort to violence on any pretext. If you break the Constitution, you break the very society in which you live. This is also applicable to the international community. Thus, whole world is affected by what happens in any country, more so in adjoining countries. Whatever happened in Nepal affected us very grievously. We are such close brothers. Ambassador Baral knows it that how deeply we are together. If something happens to Baral, it happens to me also. We are concerned about it. They are the most peace loving people, highly religious society. What has happened is not a very healthy sign. They should restore peace and we all pray that Nepal has peace very soon.

The whole world is today sitting on a volcano. Would you like it? So, human rights are the only proper way to give due where it is. I am writing a book '*How the World Statesmen Can Still Live...*'. I have read a recent book from Akada, a Japanese scholar. He has given a new direction to Buddhism. Buddhism is an Indian religion and we are not giving this direction. Japanese scholars are giving this new direction. Lokesh Chandra, who is son of Raghuvendra, has written two books and sent me the Lotus Sutra — value-based politics, value-based functioning of diplomats, ministers, statesmen and presidents, prime ministers. So world will change. Nobody should be starved, nobody should sleep hungry in his house, if you are really a man of God, because He creates everybody, He sustains and He destroys it.

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## *An Overview of India-China-Russia Relationship*

*A.B. Bardhan*

Mr. Chairman, distinguished Chairman of this Institution, delegates from more than fourteen countries, my elder in the movement to which I belong, Subrata Banerjee, *Dada* to me. I feel myself very much honoured by this invitation to address this distinguished gathering. It is a great honour also because, this institution is connected with the name of Comrade Haksar. I deliberately call him Comrade. It should not surprise anybody, because the period during which I knew him and worked under him, he was a member of the Communist Party of India and I worked only as his assistant. So, that has been my relation with Comrade Haksar. And it is a great honour to be present in an institution, connected with his name and his great vision, which he always shared with us. To think that he was only a communist in those days of 1942–43, will be doing him a great injustice. He

was a man of tremendous vision. And whatever I learnt about having a vision about the future, I have no hesitation in saying that I learnt it from Mr Haksar. Later on, Subrata *Da* has been a great colleague of ours, till he more or less retired from active politics leaving the whole job to us.

Friends, I want to be very clear about one thing. There must be a presumption in the minds of many friends here that as a communist I have a certain bias towards Russia and China. Let me make it absolutely clear that I have no bias. If there is any bias, it is a bias towards India. As a communist I look to the future of India, I look to this in the context of the world. What role we play there, what contribution we make? What are the problems we face as a result of whatever is happening? There was a time when Russia was the Soviet Union. And it so happened that it had a special relationship with India. It supported us in the independence struggle. We drew great inspiration from the revolution that took place in Russia in 1917, and which influenced all the toilers of the East, all the colonial peoples. We had to fight for our own freedom. There is not in the least an attempt to downgrade the importance of our own struggle fought against imperialism, a fight that was led in its final years, by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi. I want to make one thing clear, there are some people who think that we communists do not have sufficient respect for Mahatma Gandhi. I want to clear up this confusion, right at the outset. In fact if anybody called Gandhi ji, 'Father of the Nation'—it was P C Joshi, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India. He was the first to say that you are the father of the Nation and, therefore, there are certain expectations from you. So we recognize his role, and there is no doubt that under his leadership, we came to achieve freedom. But that does not mean that we subscribe to his philosophy. To regard a man as a leader of the freedom movement does not mean that you accept everything that he says philosophically. We have our own ideology, the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Gandhi ji had his own. Nevertheless, we thought that there was a tremendous possibility of our collaborating, our accepting his leadership in the movement and doing whatever we could in achieving freedom. But at the same time, I also must emphasise the role of all the fighters who preceded Mahatma ji or were there at that time also. I do not want to go into a list because that is not my theme just now. But may I say, that there is no way one can under-estimate the role that was played by those immortal martyrs Bhagat Singh along with his colleagues Sukhdev, Rajguru, his predecessor Kartar Singh Sarabha and all others. They were martyred for the cause and the British at that time tried to brand them as terrorists which they never were. They were freedom fighters; they were revolutionaries. It is not true that they believed in the cult of the bomb.



They used it for a very restrictive purpose. But once again I do not want to go into it. I am saying that all the various streams, which participated in the freedom movement, ultimately merged into the mighty River, where the main helmsman was Mahatma ji, leading us on to freedom. We must recognise the role of each stream.

The Soviet Union was a great source of inspiration in our struggle. By carrying out the revolution it held out hopes for all the colonial countries. It gave a fillip. The freedom movement was ours. The freedom movement arose in our midst. The freedom movement was something, which the Indian people sacrificed for. And what a tremendous sacrifice it was! It is not true at all that not a drop of blood was shed. The British and the US, who now pretend to be the great fighters for democracy and peace, are shedding blood everywhere. What a tremendous amount of blood they have spilled in Iraq, trying to destroy one of the oldest civilizations of the world! What will they be leaving behind? They can very well hang Saddam Hussein. It is the victor's justice. But the fact is that what they will leave behind will be a nation that has been destroyed, that has been split up into Shia Iraq, Sunni Iraq and Kurdish Iraq, destroying that ancient country and its civilization. It will be a long time before Iraq can re-build itself. What a shame that it took 600,000 deaths of Iraqi people, and nearly 3,000 deaths of American soldiers, before Bush could be defeated. For there is no doubt that the defeat — which is now evident to the whole world is the defeat of Bush's Iraq strategy, and the war that he launched there.

We had very friendly relations with the Soviet Union, which stood up for us. We have also to recall that had not the Soviet Union defeated Hitler Germany, the Germans had a plan of coming in through the Caucasus and Iran, Afghanistan subsequently to enter India. All that was foiled. Later on, when we attained our freedom, and the question came of supporting India in the cause of non-alignment, a great vision that Jawaharlal Nehru had, the one country which stood behind and fully supported this was the Soviet Union. There is also no doubt, on the question of developing India, so that it could stand on its own legs. Whether it was first of all the Bhilai steel plant or the other major industries, all were constructed with Soviet technology and help. We cannot ignore that. History is not written in order to be forgotten the next day. And it is a concrete piece of history because all the major plans, public sector undertakings are still there and they cannot be wished away. All that the smaller people can try to do now is to hand them over to private hands. The drive for privatization, quite apart from any economic justification, has a political purpose also, namely to destroy all these reminiscences of how Indian industry, Indian economy was built up,

and the role of the Soviet Union in this task. Who can forget the role which Soviet Union played when we were trying to assist the Liberation War of Bangladesh. But for that Soviet support one does not know what could have happened in the Bay of Bengal. Well the American fleet had come in and the Soviet Union also had to take some counter measures. I do not want to go on repeating all this except to say that in all these, the Soviet Union stood like a rock behind us. I would like to see somebody getting up and saying what the Soviet Union did that worked against the interest of India. So our relation with the Soviet Union at that time was based on a very solid foundation of friendship and help. The military help that we received still continues.

The other day, I happened to talk to General Malik, our previous Army Chief of Staff. I said, 'Can you tell us, how much of army hardware you still purchase from Russia?' He said, 'Even today 65 to 70 per cent is from Russia'. I said, 'Don't you think that in making India a big country, we should not be so dependent on one country for our military hardware? What about our own ordnance factories? What about manufacturing our own ordnance? We have not yet been able to make a tank. We have not yet been able to make a MIG, accepting in a proto-type of their factory. When are we going to stand on our own legs even militarily, because we are not a small country that has to purchase arms from others. I do not visualize that we will at any time be an 'aggressive power anywhere.' I also said, 'I do not know why you people are talking of a Blue Water Navy. Whom are you going to attack? Against whom are you planning this strategic Navy? A very efficient coastal navy, ought to be sufficient. I am not very happy at our total dependence, on Russia for military hardware. What is happening today, friends, is worse. 'What is worse is that we are now purchasing arms from Israel and America.'

The Soviet Union helped us in all these spheres. Helped us to build our country. The Soviet Union ultimately collapsed and a very big vacuum came into being. We used to talk of the Cold War in those days with every one hating it and wanting it to end, including us. The Cold War was nothing good for the World. But what happened ultimately was that the Soviet Union collapsed. And then, there was a statement by George Bush (Senior) that we have now entered the American century. They dream of a unipolar world, they dreamt of a world in which America would dictate terms, in which American aggressive strategy would dominate. Undoubtedly, they have huge political, economic and military power to dominate the world. And what did Bush (Senior) and then his son, George W. Bush do in the

course of few years? One country after the other was laid waste. And the number of deaths were several hundred thousands everywhere. Whether it was Yugoslavia or whether it was Iraq. They worked out a strategy of preemptive strike. They talked about forces of evil, of an axis of evil, arrogating to themselves the right to call any country as a force of evil. Who gave them that right? Even when we read about the divine rights of kings in earlier times, we never read about one country standing up and saying that all the other countries were forces of evil.

Our friendship, which started with the Soviet Union, has continued thereafter with Russia. For sometime one was not sure, but then the relationship stabilized later on. And even today we continue to have that relationship, which were nurtured during the days of the Soviet Union. Our relationship with Russia, therefore, is one of friendship, of mutual help, mutual respect. I think, that there is nothing that will disturb this relationship, in the coming days.

The question of China is a bit different. We have very ancient ties with China. True, but a particular event can give a very big shock, which can undo centuries of friendship. That was the attack on our borders. There were differences inside the communist movement. Unfortunately, some of those differences led to a split too. Chinese attack was one of the contributory factors to the split in the communist movement. It would be wrong to think we were with the Soviet Union and they were with the Chinese. That is a very wrong way of trying to define the relations of one party with another. Both the Communist Parties are as patriotic as anyone can claim to be. And certainly, a particular party, which played no role in the entire freedom movement, which kept away from the freedom movement, declared that they were not participating in it, cannot claim to be more patriotic than us, who have sacrificed innumerable communists, who have been shot, who have been martyred, who have passed long years in jail. Each one of us has spent years in jail. One has to remember all this. And they try to tell us about patriotism.

Chinese attack caused a great harm to relations between China and India for quite some years. Slowly, things have been improving. And by and by, efforts are being made to solve the outstanding problem of our border. It is a problem, which has been left behind by the British Imperialism; no doubt about it. That line known as the MacMohan Line does not precisely define where exactly the border is. If, therefore, another country says, let us sit down and just see where the delineation of that border is, that in itself is not a crime, that itself does not mean that the other country is claiming your



territory. But then, things deteriorated. Arunachal came in, Sikkim came in, so many other considerations came in. One by one, these are now being resolved. For instance, the question of Sikkim has been solved.

You remember, the Prime Minister of China, came here and the two Prime Ministers signed a series of agreements, which are of tremendous importance. It was laid down, for instance, what principles should guide the solution of our border problem. Because, it continues to be one of the biggest irritants in the relations between India and China. We cannot push it under the carpet. It has to be solved. It has also been decided that there should be a political solution, taking so many factors into account. Let us hope that progress will be made along that path. But what is more important is that the two sides agreed that pending a solution of the border problem, there are several economic, trade and other issues, which should be addressed and should not be kept pending.

This agreement has paid us very rich dividends. Let us take the case of trade. For quite some time there was hardly any trade between India and China. After this agreement, they have decided that 20 billion dollar trade will take place by the end of the year 2007. Already by the end of the year 2006, we have crossed 20 billion dollars, which shows what tremendous potentialities exist for trade. And once it starts, it can take place at an accelerated rate. Nathula, that pass which was an apple of discord at one time has been opened up and border trade through it is also going on. One can hopefully expect that by the year 2015 we might cross the 100 billion dollars target and become the two biggest trading partners of each other. It should be so because we are both countries of Asia. We are both countries, which have huge potentials in the huge markets for each other. If these two countries cannot expand their trade where else should our trade be expanded? Will it be in America, with the European Union? Of course we should trade with other countries but first and foremost we should trade with our neighbours, and the great country of China lies across our border.

Mutual investment is also growing. I read somewhere, I am not very sure about those figures, that China considers India as one of the topmost countries for Chinese investment. But once again here too bias has played some role. You know that the Chinese, in collaboration with two Indian firms, had won the tender for constructing a port near Cochin. Promptly it was stopped on the ground of security. It was the same with regard to the Vishakhapatnam Port, where also another port was to be built, and the Chinese had won the tender. Here too came the security concern. We raised a question about it. Was it because we were pro-Chinese? Is it because



we were talking only about China? We pointed out, we had talked about security concern with regard to Telecom. You did not listen to us at that time. When you were talking of 74 per cent foreign equity in Telecom, we had pointed out that you were opening up a sensitive industry. It concerns the entire communication system of the country. If 74 per cent is controlled by any foreign power — and it can be one single foreign power buying up all including the *benamis* — then where will be our security? At that time Government of India maintained that no security would be affected. China was not there at that time. So with Americans and the British or for that matter anybody else, no security issue is involved. Security is involved only when China has to play a role. Why? That is why we raised this question. In the case of ports, we have said that you should be careful and there should be no single foreign firm; it should come together with Indian firms, if at all it is allowed to come in. And the share of the foreign firm should not be more than a certain percentage, as decided by us. At that time nobody from the Government of India listened to us. I am talking only of the last two and half years. When China was involved, the Home Ministry and the security apparatus, which works under it, decided that Chinese could not be allowed. It was a country specific security concern. What is this, if not bias and discrimination? What is the purpose behind all this? You have not challenged their competence. You were talking only of security.

Three days back I had a discussion on this issue with an official from the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA). He gave another reason. I said, 'you should at least explain this reason to the Chinese and you should apply it to all'. He said, 'The reason why we did not allow them in Cochin is because it is next to a naval base.' All types of workers come to India and work. Our workers are working in Iraq, in Iran, in Kuwait, in all these countries. They are freely allowed to go and work there. Again when Reliance, not the Government of India, wanted to build a gas pipeline, for which the Chinese said that they were sending 1800 workers for work on that gas pipeline, the Indian Government denied visa. That issue too we took up. What if visas were denied to our people by other countries, would it be tolerated by India? What is this bias that you are working on? Subsequently, they have agreed to give the visa. About 1800 workers are coming and the MEA official has told me that they have further decided that whenever there is a question of replacing some worker by others, visas will be given in six days.

So, friends, even now some amount of bias, some amount of prejudice continues to bedevil our relations. Look at the columns of our

newspapers with regard to America. The way some of them writes it appears as if America is their country and India is only an allied country. There is a serious question about Iran. Do the Americans consult you when they attack another country? Do they consult you when they decide to launch their pre-emptive attacks? Are you sure that Bush will always be discussing with you, when you want to undertake any step? Bush has made his position clear, either you are with US or against US So he expects you to line up. That is what his policy is.

I had been to China Sir, on a visit, on their invitation. We discussed about India seeking China's support for getting into the Security Council. The Chinese leader said to me, that if India had stood on its own, they would have certainly thought of supporting it. Why did it gang up with Japan? They told me, 'Right across our border, we do not want Japan also to become a permanent member of the Security Council. And you joined with them, so that if we have to vote for you, we have to vote for Japan also. They destroyed our country at one time. Who can forget the rape of Nankin, and all the atrocities they perpetrated on the Chinese during the last war? And you want us to vote for them? We develop our trade relations and economic relations, but we are not going to put them on the Security Council'.

I am quite sure that visit of President Hu Jin Tao will be a very important step forward. There are no miracles that can happen every time. No miraculous document can be produced. The border issue is not going to be solved right away, but certainly a fillip will be given towards its solution. Trade will be further enhanced. Economic relations will improve. Mutual investment of our capitalists in China and the Chinese undertakings in India will grow. These are all very important, very important developments that have taken place.

I am at the moment not saying that our relations with Russia and China should result in a trilateral alliance. For now the relations are bilateral — India and Russia, India and China, China and Russia. This is the sort of relationship that is there. For this to develop into a triangular relation between the three countries may take some time. But a ground has been prepared by what is known as the Shanghai Co-operation Organisation. Hopes have been raised. But here again, we drag our feet. There was a meeting of the Shanghai Organisation in which India has an observer status. Pakistan also has an observer status. Even Afghanistan has an observer status. So all were invited and all were represented by the Presidents or Prime Ministers of their country. The five were full members and four were observers. We had requested the Prime Minister to go and attend it. He did not. He sent a new and junior Minister, Murli Deora. It only shows what

importance we give to it. Please do not forget that that is the biggest organization at the moment, which is fighting for multi-polarism against uni-polarism. This Shanghai forum, which includes Russia, which includes China, which includes you as an observer, with all of these people, has developed certain power, certain identity, and political importance.

The Shanghai group has been fighting for multi-polarism, for a multi-polar world, which is very important. This uni-polar concept of America, under which it is dreaming and continuing to dream, has to be shattered. Only then you will see the United Nations will be rescued from their grip. Therefore, relations between the three countries, which are at the moment only bi-lateral with each other, has to develop towards a trilateral one. If these three countries come together that will be the biggest strategic landmass in this world. Economically that would be the biggest power in the entire world. It does not have to have a military aspect assigned to it. To the extent they grow economically they would be able to help Asia, Africa and Latin America. All these years until now, most of these countries have been looking only to the West, to America and the European Union. Now we have to develop a different relationship. And I think, if it happens, there is a new perspective that opens up.

The 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries were centuries of Europe. Europe was the place, which was the centre of political gravity, and it ran the whole world. After the Second World War it shifted to America. America nowadays exercises its hegemony over the world. I am quite sure that if these three countries are together this drift from Europe to America will ultimately be replaced by a drift towards Asia, led by China and India, which are the two most populous countries and the fast-growing economies.

That is the future that we visualize. And if that happens, there will be peace in the world, because there will be a tremendous strength against any power trying to be an imperial power dictating terms to the rest of the world. It will be a counter-balance to that. There will be peace in the Indian Ocean, peace in the Pacific Ocean and in Africa. Latin America is no longer the backyard of USA. One by one those countries are breaking out of the American stranglehold. The Left there are by no means all communists. They need not be. They are influenced by Marxism, true, but they are taking to their own path of Left politics, Left economics and giving a Left orientation to their countries' growth and development depending on their specific conditions. This is what I visualize. This is the overview that I share with you. In the times to come, it will be India, Russia and China which will decisively influence the destiny of the multipolar world. Thank you friends.



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